

## Renault-Volvo Vs. Japan: Loser May Be The Germans

### Luxury Cars and Trucks Of European Rivals Are Likely to Be Hurt

By Jacques Neher  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — In coming together, Renault SA of France and Volvo AB of Sweden say they are erecting ramparts against an anticipated European onslaught by the Japanese. But the merger announced Monday in Paris may pose a more immediate threat to Germany's already troubled car and truck industry.

Analysis says Renault-Volvo, by sharing costs, technology and quality improvement techniques, will be in a position to challenge Germany's luxury carmakers in markets throughout the world, and eventually in Germany.

In the truck market, they add, the merged entity leapfrogs to the No. 2 position and gives it new possibilities to take customers away from the market leader, Mercedes-Benz.

The deal, which accords the French 65 percent control and the Swedes a 35 percent minority position, will give birth on Jan. 1 to the sixth-largest automotive group in the world, with combined sales of 241 billion francs (\$41.5 billion).

Combining activities at the development and production level but retaining the respective Renault and Volvo brands will save as much as 30 billion francs by 2000, Pehr Gyllenhammar, chairman of Volvo AB, said Monday at a press conference in Paris.

"We aim to be one of the most profitable companies in our industry," said Mr. Gyllenhammar, who becomes head of the new Renault-Volvo executive committee.

"This will include sharing product development, production, logistics, distribution, and even marketing," he said. "Up to the client level, there are many things we can do together."

Louis Schweitzer, chairman of Renault, and soon to lead the management team of the merged company, said the marriage was necessitated, in part, because of an agreement that will permit Japanese automakers to have free access to all of the European Community by 1999. The Japanese have been held in check up to now by strict quotas in France and Italy and by a series of unofficial accords to limit exports to the Community.

"In 1994, we will have no excuse for not succeeding against the Japanese," Mr. Schweitzer said. "We have to be ready."

In getting ready, Renault-Volvo should be able to do immediate damage to the cream of Germany's auto industry — Mercedes-Benz, BMW, Porsche, as well as the luxury-class models of Ford and General Motors.

"With the excellent cost improvements that

See MERGER, Page 13



Yasser Arafat and the Egyptian foreign minister, Amr Moussa, embracing at the Cairo airport Monday as the PLO chairman arrived from Syria for talks on the self-rule accord.

## Mideast Deal To Be Signed Next Week, 2 Sides Say

### Israeli-PLO Progress On Recognition Issue And Self-Rule Reported

By William E. Schmidt  
New York Times Service

CAIRO — Increasingly confident that no Arab government will now stand in the way of his peace accord with Israel, Yasser Arafat, the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, returned to Cairo Monday to put the finishing touches on a draft agreement that Egyptian officials say could be ready for signing in Washington next week.

After meeting with Mr. Arafat, aides to the Egyptian foreign minister, Amr Moussa, said they were still hopeful that they could complete the accord for signing "on or around" Sept. 13, the date proposed by the U.S. government. Discussions are now taking place to settle the issue of mutual recognition by Israel and the PLO, Egyptian and PLO aides said.

In Israel, Environment Minister Yossi Sarid said the two sides should sign the autonomy accord and documents on recognition next

U.S. worries that the deal won't go very far unless Assad can be brought in on it. Page 9.

week in Washington, Agence France-Press reported.

"Mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO is on the right path, and there will be no going back," he said.

In his latest flurry of Arab shuttle diplomacy, Mr. Arafat failed Sunday to convince President Hafez Assad of Syria to endorse the agreement, which already has the public backing of Jordan and Egypt. But the Syrian president, the most hard-line of Israel's Arab neighbors, also did not oppose the deal, saying only that the Palestinians should decide for themselves what best suited them.

Mr. Arafat's initiative Monday won the public backing of the six wealthy governments of the Arab Gulf. In a communiqué issued following the two-day meeting of the Gulf Cooperation Council in Riyadh, the foreign ministers of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates agreed to support the accord "as a first step toward reaching a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement" in the region.

But the Gulf leadership, which had cut off payments to Mr. Arafat following his support for President Saddam Hussein of Iraq in the 1991 Gulf War, did not make any specific offer of financial aid to the Palestinians. The United States and its European allies have discussed putting together a package of financial support, including Arab money, for the West Bank and Gaza, if the accord is signed.

The most substantial Arab opposition facing Mr. Arafat continues to come from radical Palestinian groups. Twelve militant Palestinian and Islamic groups, meeting Monday in Lebanon, pledged to build a united front to defend the accord, which would give the Palestinians limited self-rule in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho, near the Jordan border.

Salah Zeidan, a leader of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, one of the largest of 10 Damascus-based militant organizations opposed to Mr. Arafat's leadership, said the agreement "has destroyed all Palestinian aspirations to build an independent Palestinian state." Shafiq Hoot, the PLO representative in Lebanon, said he feared civil war

See PLO, Page 4

## On Clinton's Agenda, the Borrowed and the New

### Back in Capital, Ready to Reinvent

By Ann Devroy  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Call it reinventing Bill Clinton.

As the president spends a quiet weekend before an ambitious autumn of action, White House aides and advisers describe a boss who left for vacation last month bitter and exhausted after his first six months in office and who returned energized and committed to an ambitious agenda of proposals that will give him, in effect, a chance to start over.

Pointing to the centrist issues that the White House hopes will redefine Mr. Clinton, a senior aide said: "This is not just a new beginning. It is an effort to redefine in the public mind where the president is and where he is going."

And he added: "After being beaten bloody around the head and shoulders as a tax-and-spend Democrat the past months, this will give

the president the opportunity to be for something America is for."

On the agenda: his health-care overhaul proposal, which is likely to dominate public debate through this year and next; his proposal to "reinvent government," and the fight over the North American Free Trade Agreement. All are intended to restore the image he had last November as the "new Democrat" who would offer a change not only from Republican refusal to deal with domestic problems but also from the old Democratic ideology.

White House hopes aside, the Clinton team has shown little evidence that it can manage to the president's advantage one major debate, much less three. He enters this phase of his presidency with almost as many Americans disapproving of his performance as approving it. As August ended, 64 percent believed the country was still on the wrong track, while 27 percent believed it was going in the right direction. That is an improvement from earlier polls.

And Mr. Clinton's efforts to redefine his image by setting the policy debate will not go

See CLINTON, Page 3

### Bush's Economics Get Another Look

By Sylvia Nasar  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Stuck with a tight budget and uncertain economic prospects, top economic advisers in the Clinton administration are looking at the same types of measures to stimulate the U.S. economy that the Bush administration used during the presidential election campaign last year.

The measures on the drafting table, which by and large would not require congressional approval, are being discussed by Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich, Laura D'Andrea Tyson, the head of the Council of Economic Advisers, and other high-level aides. The plans include speeding up work on military contracts or easing regulations on government lending.

Such steps are supposed to provide small but concentrated doses of job stimulus for selected industries, groups of workers and regions — California, in particular — in the event that the economy stalls or job growth fails to pick up.

"Several of us are developing ideas and exchanging memoranda with an eye toward advising the president on this matter," Mr. Reich said in an interview.

The measures are intended to affect the timing and targeting of spending, loans and tax collections without changing the overall budget totals, as well as to stimulate private business activity by rewriting banking, airline and other regulations.

Since the defeat of the administration's stimulus package by Congress, the economics team has been frustrated by the administration's lack of fiscal tools to bolster the modest and uneven economic recovery.

"Given defeat of the stimulus plan, given slow growth," an administration official said, "the question became, what could you do? Are there ways to stimulate the economy with little or no on-budget effects?"

Senator Bob Dole, the minority leader, who worked to defeat the administration's stimulus package during the spring, said: "It's fine with me as long as they don't overreach. They've got the authority."

While the broad outlines of a plan have been drafted, the specifics are far from final. "This has not reached the level of the full NEC," said Mr. Reich, referring to the National Economic Council. "The president has made no decisions yet."

Last year, the Bush administration used its discretionary authority to cut income tax withholding and to hasten Pentagon purchases of military hardware. Both actions were designed to lift confidence and economic growth.

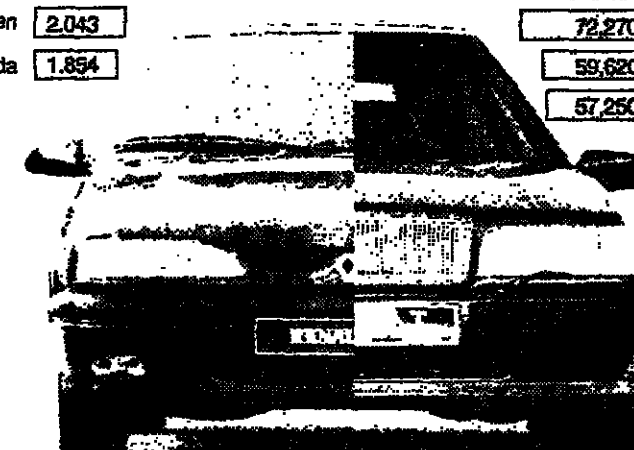
At the time, the Clinton camp derided the moves as gimmicks, but now the Clinton economic advisers say the measures were effective in temporarily lifting growth and that their earlier criticisms had more to do with Mr. Bush's motivation — re-election — than with the methods he used.

Among the economic advisers involved, a range of views exists about when the contingent

See STIMULUS, Page 12

### Renault-Volvo's World Ranking

World production in 1992		Trucks	
Cars		Trucks weighing more than 15 metric tons:	
General Motors	6,956	Mercedes	97,850
Ford	5,712	Renault-Volvo	73,438
Toyota	5,278	Peccar (U.S.)	33,650
Volkswagen	3,489	Iveco (Fiat)	30,180
Nissan	3,047	Navistar (U.S.)	30,000
Renault-Volvo	2,345		
Fiat	2,193	Commercial vehicles	
Chrysler	2,049	Commercial vehicles weighing more than 5 metric tons:	
Peugeot-Citroen	2,043	Mercedes	158,620
Honda	1,894	Renault-Volvo	91,428
		Hino-Toyota	72,270
		Navistar (U.S.)	59,620
		Iveco (Fiat)	57,250



### Kiosk

#### Rutskoi Barred From His Desk

MOSCOW (Reuters) — Presidential security guards prevented the suspended Russian vice president, Alexander V. Rutskoi, and his staff from entering their offices Monday, the press agency Itar-Tass said.

It quoted a presidential spokesman as having said that both Mr. Rutskoi's office and that of Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir F. Shumeiko, who was also suspended pending investigation of corruption allegations, were under guard.

#### General News

Ross Perot and 'family values' sustain political pull. Page 3.  
Ferdinand Marcos's hometown prepares a hero's funeral, four years after his death. Page 8.

#### Business/Finance

Mediobanca is tapping stockholders for cash. Page 11.  
China detailed anti-inflation measures. Page 11.

Books Page 5.  
Chess Page 5.

## Europe's Soccer Champs Are Banned

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ZURICH — Olympique Marseille, the European club soccer champion, was barred Monday from defending its title because of allegations that it attempted to bribe an opposing team's players before a league match last season.

The sport's European governing body, UEFA, said preliminary results of a French criminal investigation into allegations that Marseille tried to bribe Valenciennes players on May 19 indicate that an irregularity had occurred in connection with the match in question.

An emergency session of UEFA's executive committee cited concerns about the sport's image and, under emergency statutes,

denied Marseille entry into the 1993-94 European Champions' Cup. First-round play is to start next week.

Bernard Tapie, the controversial entrepreneur-politician who owns the Marseille club, announced plans later Monday to file a suit

The decision is a bold move that is dangerous for the sport, says Rob Hughes. Page 15.

Tuesday to force French soccer authorities to name Olympique Marseille as its representative in the championships and thus as the team that will play AEK Athens Sept. 15 in defiance of the UEFA ruling.  
The suit seeks to set Wednesday as a dead-

line — the same deadline UEFA gave French officials to choose a substitute team.

"The decision made by UEFA is contrary to all principles of law," said Francis Szpiner, Tapie's lawyer. "Olympique Marseille is not heard, an appeal is not possible. Marseille could not defend itself. That sort of justice is contrary to the most elementary laws."

Marseille won France's first European club soccer title, and its fifth straight French championship, last season.

Jean-Louis Leveau, the club's vice president, said after meeting with Tapie that the owner was "deeply shocked." Leveau repeated the Marseille stand that the allega-

See BAN, Page 15

## China Gropes Toward Market-Leninism

The writer of this article recently completed nearly five years as chief of the Beijing bureau of The New York Times.

By Nicholas D. Kristof  
New York Times Service

Ever since the Opium War erupted 150 years ago, China has been groping for a way to regain the edge over the West that it enjoyed for most of recorded history.

Now, in the 1990s, China's leaders seem to think that they have found the way.

The plan is to jettison communism — but not Communist Party rule — and move China's nearly 1.2 billion people into the East Asian tradition of free-market authoritarianism. Pioneered in the 1960s and 1970s by South Korea and Taiwan, this East Asian model combines harsh single-party rule with competition in the marketplace.

In short, dissidents are zapped with cattle

prods and the economy is prodded with market incentives.

After Deng Xiaoping, China's current paramount leader, was purged in 1976, the People's Daily quoted Mao as saying that Mr. Deng "knows nothing of Marxism-Leninism." Mao may have been half-right. For Mr. Deng, 89, has advised visitors from developing countries not to bother with Marxism.

At the same time, Mr. Deng and other Chinese leaders retain a fondness for Leninism, in the sense of highly disciplined one-party rule with centralized decision-making. Their aim is Market-Leninism.

In some ways, China already resembles Leonid Brezhnev's Soviet Union or Erich Honecker's East Germany less than it does modern Indonesia: a nepotistic and corrupt dictatorship that presides over a booming economy with both state and private sectors. Mao once talked of China's becoming another Soviet

Union. Mr. Deng reserves his highest praise not for a socialist country but for that bastion of capitalism, Singapore.

The attraction of Singapore is that it has achieved Western living standards without being infested by Western political standards. Singapore is a paramount leader's paradise, for it is populated by clean-cut, law-abiding citizens who obligingly use their ballots to keep their rulers in power.

"China's dream is to become another Singapore," a Western diplomat noted the other day. A few feet away, a foreign ambassador responded without a pause. "It'll never happen."

However, it is far more complicated to choreograph the transformation of a nation of 1.2 billion people — including minorities like Tibetans — than it is to transform a city-state such as Singapore or an island like Taiwan.

If China can make the metamorphosis, a new

See CHINA, Page 4

## In Poland, Pain Is Leavened by Progress

By Michael Dobbs  
Washington Post Service

WARSAW — In Communist times it was known as the "White House" — a fortress-like structure in the center of the city, as impenetrable and characterless as the regime it housed.

The five-story headquarters of the Polish Communist Party regularly absorbed and disgorged large numbers of faceless bureaucrats. What precisely they all did mystified average Poles.

Today, advertisements for fax machines and photocopiers adorn the roof from which the red flag once flew. The conference hall where Communist Party leaders schemed is now a trading room for a Western bank. The hall's huge bust of Lenin has been relegated to the cellar.

"When the Communists finally moved out of here in 1990, we had to completely gut and renovate the place," said Robert Kzesos, the building's manager. "This is now prime real estate. Our tenants pay higher rents than anywhere else in Warsaw."

There is something both symbolic and historically important about the transformation of the inner sanctum of Polish communism into a temple of capitalism. As the first Soviet bloc country to elect a non-Communist government, Poland has been at the forefront of revolutionary changes that will influence world events for decades. It has become the testing ground for

Second in a series

an unprecedented socio-economic experiment: the transition from communism to free-market democracy.

Four years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the former Yugoslavia, where tens of thousands have died in two years of ethnic war, offers a disaster scenario for other former Communist countries searching for a road away from totalitarian rule and a state-run economy. Poland, in contrast, is the closest approximation to a success story.

Geopolitically, the collapse of communism and the end of the Cold War have been a

godsend to Poland. For the first time in almost a millennium, the country is not sandwiched between two predatory neighbors with capitals in Berlin and Moscow. Economically, tough financial policies and comprehensive privatization have made Poland a favorite of the International Monetary Fund and Western bankers. Poland's economy is the first in the former East bloc to return to growth after the 1989 revolution, and economic reform seems to be gaining momentum.

"There is still a lot that can go wrong, but I have a feeling that we have turned the corner," said Bronislaw Geremek, parliamentary floor leader of the Democratic Union, a partner of the governing coalition, and a former adviser to President Lech Walesa. "I feel that we can build a liberal democracy in this country without falling into the trap of social demagoguery, populism and nationalism."

Such upbeat talk irritates many Poles who are painfully aware of the costs associated with

See LEGACY, Page 5

سكوا من الاصل





A clerk marking up prices Monday on scant merchandise in a Belgrade store. Inflation is rampant amid the international embargo.

### Ex-Detainees Accuse Croats of Torture

By David B. Ottaway

Washington Post Service

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Bosnian Croat forces are holding several thousand Muslim male prisoners from Mostar in five hangars and two underground tunnels where they are being starved to death, tortured and forced to drink their own urine to stay alive, according to reports from recently released detainees interviewed by a UN human rights official.

widespread charges of Serbian genocide against the Muslim people.

The protection officer, Kirsten Young, said the 100 former detainees she had interviewed last weekend were all "physically and psychologically exhausted" and either seriously emaciated or "extremely thin."

west of Mostar, and that those forced into the two underground ammunition tunnels were "stacked up so much they couldn't even lie down to sleep."

A number of the prisoners are reportedly 12- and 13-year-old children, and at least one of them has been held for two months, the former detainees said.

## UN Weighs Lifting Iraq Oil Sales Ban

### Talks Linked to Willingness To Allow Monitoring of Arms

By Paul Lewis

New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York — Three years after it imposed a stiff trade embargo against Iraq because of its invasion of Kuwait, the United Nations is seriously considering lifting its ban on Iraqi oil sales and allowing Baghdad to earn billions of dollars by selling unlimited quantities on world markets.

An easing of the embargo, which diplomats say is still months away, would come about if Iraq provided information about its efforts to build nuclear, chemical and biological arms and agreed to let the United Nations monitor its military industries to ensure that it does not reacquire such weapons.

In a first step toward an agreement on lifting the oil embargo, a high-ranking team of Iraqi officials led by General Amer Mohammed Rashid, the director of Iraq's military industrialization corporation, is visiting New York for talks with Rolf Ekeus, the Swede who leads the special commission set up by the Security Council in 1991 to oversee the elimination of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction.

### UN Asks Japan For Border Team

Agence France-Press

TOKYO — The United Nations is sounding out Japan about joining UN peacekeeping operations on the Iraqi-Kuwaiti border, a government official said.

The daily Yomiuri Shimbun said the United Nations wanted Japan to send a 40-person medical team to the demilitarized zone between Iraq and Kuwait. This would meet Japanese legal requirements, under which troops can only be deployed in areas where a cease-fire has been concluded, it said.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Italy Delays Its Mogadishu Pullout

ROME (AP) — Italy agreed to delay its pullout from Mogadishu but replaced its commander in Somalia on Monday, after seven Nigerian UN troops died in a Somali ambush in which Italian soldiers were alleged to have stood idly by.

The ambush Sunday sharpened Rome's rift with Washington over how to keep peace in Somalia. The United States backs tougher action to capture the warlord Mohammed Farrah Aidid, whom the UN blames for the attack; Italy wants talks with Aidid supporters.

Italy called its replacement of commanders a normal rotation, but the change followed calls that General Bruno Loi be removed. General Carmine Fiore, who assumed command, has praised General Loi's work. Earlier, Defense Minister Fabio Fabbri denied that Italian troops had refused to help the Nigerian soldiers during the ambush.

### Army Chides Chamorro on Ortega

MANAGUA (AP) — The Nicaraguan Army will not accept the dismissal of its chief, General Humberto Ortega Saavedra, a Sandinista holdover whom President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro retained when she was elected in 1990, the military said in a statement.

The army said it had been offered by Mrs. Chamorro's announcement last week that she would replace General Ortega next year, noting that she had made the decision without consulting military leaders.

Mrs. Chamorro's office issued a statement Sunday rejecting General Ortega's assertion that the presidency was acting unlawfully in planning to dismiss him. Mrs. Chamorro, who was elected with conservative backing, has angered her supporters by retaining key Sandinista officials. Washington has been urging the removal of the general, the brother of former President Daniel Ortega Saavedra.

### Qian Begins East European Tour

KIEV (AP) — Foreign Minister Qian Qichen of China met Monday with President Leonid M. Kravchuk of Ukraine at the start of a swing through Eastern Europe. He is the highest-ranking Chinese leader to visit the region since the collapse of the Communist bloc.

The 10-day tour will also take him to Romania, Albania, Slovenia and Croatia. The Xinhua press agency quoted Mr. Qian, who is also deputy prime minister, as saying he would discuss regional and international issues during the tour. He also said that China, one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, was willing to join international efforts to promote peace in the Balkans.

The trip comes two weeks before the International Olympic Committee is scheduled to choose a site for the 2000 Games, for which Beijing is a candidate.

### China Assails U.S. on Ship Allegation

BEIJING (AP) — China, elated that inspection of one of its freighters had failed to find chemical weapons material on board as Washington had claimed, attacked the United States over the issue for a second day on Monday.

People's Daily, the Communist Party newspaper, and China Daily, the nation's English-language paper, both carried commentaries blaming the United States for the dispute over the freighter Yinhe. The United States had shadowed the vessel with warships and charged that it was carrying material for the manufacture of mustard gas and nerve toxins to Iran. The Yinhe was inspected last week by a team including U.S. representatives.

"The United States always considers itself superior and believes nobody but itself," the front-page commentary in People's Daily said. "Regarding itself as a 'world cop,' the United States has grossly encroached upon the sovereignty of another country."

### Anglican Leader Decries a Flogging

LONDON (AP) — The Archbishop of Canterbury said Monday that the public flogging of an Anglican bishop in Sudan was "barbaric and humiliating."

The Right Reverend Peter Birst, suffragan bishop of Khartoum at Wad Medani in western Sudan, received 80 lashes to the back of his legs and upper back after he was found guilty of adultery. The punishment was in accordance with Islamic law.

The bishop denied the charge, which was dismissed by a lower court, but he was found guilty by a higher court.

### Quit Azerbaijan, Iran Tells Armenia

NICOSIA (Reuters) — Iran told Armenia on Monday to pull its forces out of Azerbaijan and said it would not remain silent toward its "aggression."

Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati delivered Iran's warning in a telephone conversation with his Armenian counterpart, Vagan Papazyan, the official Iranian press agency, IRNA, said. Armenian forces have advanced close to the Iranian frontier in southwest Azerbaijan, arousing Tehran's concern about the security of its borders and the possibility of a large influx of refugees.

### Correction

The Q&A article in Monday's edition incorrectly identified Munich as a candidate site for the Summer Olympic Games in 2000. The German city that has applied to hold the Olympiad is Berlin.

## Nigeria Oil Workers Call 'Truce' in Showdown With Regime

By Kenneth B. Noble

New York Times Service

LAGOS — Leaders of Nigeria's oil workers union suspended on Monday a 10-day strike that paralyzed factories and businesses across Africa's most populous nation.

Union leaders insisted that they had achieved a symbolic victory by demonstrating their ability to cripple the country's economy if they so wished. And they vowed to go on strike again if their demands continued to be ignored.

Moreover, the wide adherence to the strike across ethnic and regional lines suggested that many Nigerians opposed the largely civilian but unelected interim government that was created by General Babangida and is headed by Ernest Shonekan.

national strike, let it be seen as a tactical withdrawal," the union representing 50,000 oil workers said in a statement.

The union said it believed that a "period of truce" would allow the authorities to reconsider the decision to annul the elections.

troubles are by no means over. On Sunday, Nigeria's largest human rights group, the Campaign for Democracy, said it planned future actions to force the government to hand over power to elected civilians.

The oil-workers' strike, which millions of Nigerians supported by staying in their homes, transformed normally teeming towns and villages into ghostly places.

## Requests for Asylum Decline in Germany

Reuters

BONN — The number of refugees seeking asylum in Germany fell dramatically in August, for the second successive month, following the introduction of a tough asylum law, the Interior Ministry said Monday.

to evaluate the success of the law in stemming the flow of refugees.

From January through August, 259,193 foreigners asked for asylum, a drop of 5.4 percent from the same period last year.

## Slovak Chided Over Remarks About Gypsies

The Associated Press

VIENNA — Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar of Slovakia came under criticism abroad Monday for allegedly calling Slovakia's Gypsies "socially unadaptable and mentally backward."

## Inmates at U.K. Prison Riot 7 Hours

Reuters

LONDON — Hundreds of inmates rampaged through a British prison for seven hours on Monday, causing up to £20 million (\$30 million) of damage and injuring one inmate before surrendering, prison officials said.

conduct an immediate inquiry into the riot. Prison officials said they had warned that trouble was brewing. But the prison governor, Jim Mullen, denied there had been any warning of trouble.

Three of the four cell blocks were destroyed along with the gymnasium and the prison laundry. Officials said prisoners gave up when they were forced out of the buildings by smoke from a blazing workshop and fuel tank.

## U.K. Engineer Arrested After Train Hits Station

Reuters

LONDON — A locomotive engineer was arrested for failing an alcohol test after his freight train ran into a station early Monday, closing a major London commuter line.

The locomotive dragged five freight cars off the rails as it plowed into the Maidstone East station, south of London, during the night, blocking two tracks and virtually demolishing the station building. The engineer was treated for shock. No other injuries were reported.

## 7 Die in English Truck Crash

Reuters

LONDON — Seven people were killed when a truck collided with a van and crashed into a post office in the northern English village of Sowerby Bridge, Yorkshire, emergency services said.

## Tax Rules Eased for American Evaders Abroad

By Robert C. Siner

International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — The Internal Revenue Service has issued rules that will make it easier and less expensive for Americans abroad who have not filed tax returns in past years to clear their accounts with the U.S. government.

Under the rules, overseas taxpayers who come forward voluntarily can now claim the \$70,000 earned-income exclusion for all back years without having to apply for special rulings from the IRS.

The new rules are part of a continuing campaign by the agency to get overseas taxpayers "into the system." Numerous congressional and IRS studies have found that fewer than half of Americans abroad file returns.

but there was nothing automatic in their cases.

Under regulations issued this summer, taxpayers who come forward voluntarily can save themselves the trouble and expense of a letter ruling. In addition, an IRS spokesman said, taxpayers who are caught by the agency but can show that by causing the exclusion they would owe no tax for back years will be allowed to file their back returns as though they had come forward voluntarily.

Those caught by the IRS who do owe tax, however, will have to request Private Letter Rulings. To be allowed to use the exclusion for back years they will have to show that they were misled into not filing by tax professionals or government advice, the spokesman said.

Taxpayers who were caught by the IRS could still apply for Private Letter Rulings.

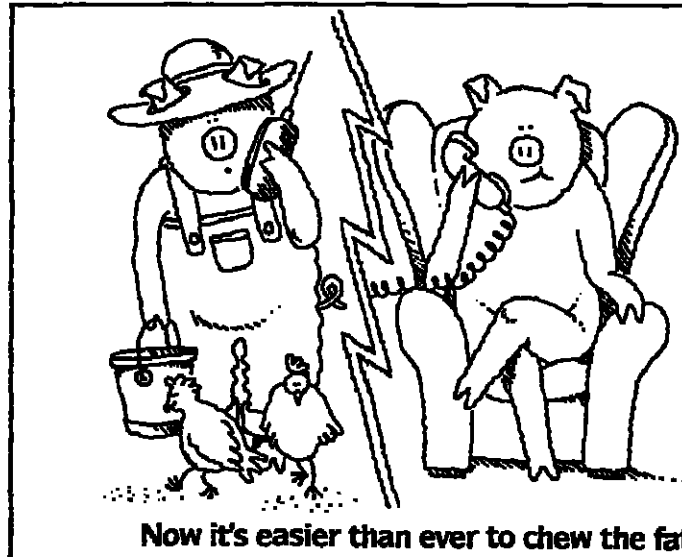
## TRAVEL UPDATE

Cathay Pacific Airways plans to start twice-weekly service between Hong Kong and Cairns, Australia, on Oct. 30 every Wednesday and Saturday. It still needs approval of the Hong Kong government. Cairns is the northernmost city in Queensland state. (AP)

A standoff between Air-India pilots and cabin crews has stranded thousands of passengers. Foreign carriers have been asked to fly them from the country. Dozens of flights have been canceled in the past few days after many pilots called in sick. They are angry because some flight attendants insist that they, not pilots, are in charge of passengers. (AP)

The government of Malawi said Monday that it had reached an agreement with civil aviation personnel to end a strike that began on Thursday. The strike had halted international flights at the country's two main airports, but personnel there returned to work Sunday after the army was authorized to take over their duties. (AFP)

OVERHEARD



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# STATESIDE / PEROT, YET AGAIN



Mr. Clinton and Chelsea on a beach in southern Florida, which he visited to inspect damage remaining from a 1992 hurricane. "We can make this come out all right," he vowed Monday.

## POLITICAL NOTES

### A Wasteful Budget, Many Think

NEW YORK — The average American thinks more than one-third of the \$1.5 trillion federal budget could realistically be cut as wasteful, according to an Associated Press poll.

When President Bill Clinton outlines his plans Tuesday for "reinventing government," his message will appeal to a cynical public. In the poll, 95 percent said the government wasted lots of money. Using a study led by Vice President Al Gore, Mr. Clinton is expected to propose numerous changes in the way the federal government buys services, hires workers, makes budgets, pays benefits, collects fees and divides duties among agencies.

To the question, "What percent of the federal budget do you realistically think could be cut as wasteful?" the average response was 37 percent. One in 10 wanted to do away with more than half the budget.

Seven in 10 polled say foreign aid is wasteful. But to cut its \$19 billion from the budget would be like dipping 3 tablespoons out of a 1-gallon pail.

The telephone poll of 1,004 adults was taken the last five days of August by ICR Survey Research Group, part of AUS Consultants. Results have a margin of sampling error of plus or minus 3 percentage points.

When different categories of spending were mentioned, responses varied according to region and income. Fifty-one percent said military spending was wasteful, for example, and dissenters to that view were largely Southerners, people who live outside metropolitan areas and those whose families earn less than \$15,000 a year.

Welfare seemed wasteful to 59 percent overall, but not to most blacks and to those earning less than \$15,000.

(AP)

### The New Anita Hill Controversy

NORMAN, Oklahoma — Almost two years have passed since the stormy Senate confirmation hearings for Justice Clarence Thomas, and Anita

F. Hill is still evoking passion among the many supporters and detractors in her home state.

The University of Oklahoma law professor, who accused Justice Thomas, then a nominee, of sexual harassment, returned to the classroom last month after a one-year leave to study harassment in the workplace. Although she quietly tried to resume teaching, Professor Hill is mired in another controversy.

At issue is the proposed Anita Faye Hill Professorship, an endowed chair designed to provide money for salaries, research and travel expenses to study rights of women in the workplace.

A group of Minnesota women began raising money for the chair last year and has collected \$125,000, enough under Oklahoma law to qualify for matching funds from the state Board of Regents for Higher Education. But the momentum stopped there. Despite what many people describe as a popular idea on campus and statewide, university officials are squirming under the spotlight aimed at her by opponents of Professor Hill.

"It's sexism and racism," Juneetta Davis, a retired Oklahoma University journalism professor, said of efforts to halt endowment of the chair. "This is the 75th endowment chair, but it's the first ever to be contested. There is no reason for this chair to be any different from the others."

Opposition is led here by E.Z. Million, who is president of the Oklahoma Conservative Committee and collects signatures against Professor Hill at his storefront office.

### Quote / Unquote

Vice President Al Gore on the issue of streamlining government: "Basically, the federal government is organized the way large corporations were organized 50 years ago, with a centralized, top-down, hierarchical, bureaucratic approach that might have seemed like the cat's meow when mass production was first invented, but is hopelessly inadequate to the information age. We want to make government customer-friendly. We want to empower employees with flexibility, the tools they need and the authority to make decisions." (Reuters)

## Texan and 'Family Values' Sustain Political Pull

By David S. Broder  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Political scientists examining the entrails of last year's election have found evidence that Ross Perot and the religious right may have more lasting effects on U.S. politics than was guessed at the time.

In panels and papers delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association here, which concluded Sunday, scholars offered diverse perspectives on the significance of everything from the greater visibility of homosexuals and women in the campaign to the influence of the media.

But most attention focused on Mr. Perot, the most successful independent or third-party candidate in eight decades, and on issues of "family values" and groups such as the Christian Coalition.

Martin P. Wattenberg of the University of California at Irvine linked the 19 percent vote for Mr. Perot to the continuing decline in support for the Democratic and Republican parties and said the evidence suggested a second Perot candidacy in 1996 "might do even better."

"He has taken on the role of the opposition statesman and become the most publicly visible center of opposition to President

Clinton," Mr. Wattenberg said. Even though party lines have been drawn in Congress on basic economic issues, "the public debate has been personalized to a fight between Perot and Clintonomics."

Should he run again, said Ronald B. Rapoport of the College of William and Mary, who studied the election with five colleagues, he would likely find many of his old supporters ready to work for him. Interviewing a cross section of them, these scholars found that "for most of the Perot sample, their involvement was a positive experience and an active constituency for his continued involvement exists."

A somewhat more skeptical note was struck by John Zaller of the University of California at Los Angeles, who argued that the rise and fall of Mr. Perot in 1992 fit the pattern of such past insurgent candidates as John Anderson, Gary Hart and Jimmy Carter — all of whom lost less well in their second attempts and even in the later stages of their first campaigns. A major reason for this, Mr. Zaller said, was the skepticism of the political establishment, reflected in "the institutionalized political press."

For all Mr. Perot's success on talk shows

and all he invested in commercials, Mr. Zaller said, "people at lower levels of awareness apparently failed, for the most part, to receive word of the Perot campaign, while people at higher levels of awareness seem to have been turned off to Perot by criticism of him carried in the elite press."

Another measure of Mr. Perot's limits was supplied by Timothy S. Prinz of the University of Virginia, who found scarcely a trace of his influence in congressional races. Sharp partisanship prevailed, with Republicans being punished for the negative evaluation of President George Bush's economic performance and Democrats benefiting from the desire for change.

Several scholars suggested that, even in a year when economic concerns dominated, social issues, especially abortion, played a crucial role in the outcome.

The point was argued by Alan I. Abramowitz of Emory University. He suggested that "abortion had a significant influence on candidate choice in the overall electorate," and that among the quarter of the voters who were both concerned about abortion and aware of the candidate position, "abortion had a much stronger influence on

candidate choice than any other issue, including the state of the economy."

The issue hurt Mr. Bush and the Republicans, Mr. Abramowitz found. "The Clinton-Gore ticket suffered few defections from pro-life Democrats because most of those Democrats either didn't know the candidates' position on abortion or didn't care," he said. "In contrast, the Bush-Quayle ticket suffered a substantial number of defections from pro-choice Republicans, although most of these Republican defectors cast their ballots for Ross Perot rather than for Bill Clinton."

Similar findings came from focused studies by other scholars looking at Munice, Indiana, and Alameda County, Virginia. In another paper, Susan E. Howell of the University of New Orleans found that after a 1990 decision by the Supreme Court that expanded options for states to restrict abortions, the issue jumped in importance and became attached to the definition of both conservatism and Republicanism, to the detriment of the Democrats.

Other researchers said the emergence of abortion and issues of "family values" could presage a realignment of Democratic and Republican coalitions.

## Autoworkers' Health Benefits: Time to Share Cost?

By James Bennet  
New York Times Service

DETROIT — Since learning last year that he had multiple sclerosis, Andy Torok has become less and less steady on his feet, and his worries have accumulated along with the handprints on his apartment's white walls.

But as Mr. Torok has shunned among specialists, sampling different steroids and undergoing test after test, he has not had to give a single thought to how much his medical care costs.

Mr. Torok, who had to stop working in March, is a member of the United Automobile Workers union, so he has paid nothing.

"Not a dime," said Mr. Torok, 39, who lives in Davison, Michigan, just north of Detroit. "I'd be downright scared to know what it's costing."

The automobile companies, which have kept careful track of the cost of caring for their workers, profess to be plenty scared. Mr. Torok's employer, General Motors Corp., is the largest private purchaser of health care in the United States, having spent \$3.7 billion last year.

Just for its union members, GM's health care costs amount to \$711 for each car and truck that it builds in North America.

More than a million hourly workers, retirees and family members from GM, Ford Motor Co. and Chrysler Corp. pay little or nothing for almost all of their treatment, from an examination for a sore throat to open-heart surgery.

Now, as the Big Three negotiate a national labor contract with the UAW this fall, the companies are insisting that

workers chip in, a proposal the union steadfastly rejects.

Union leaders say that their members paid for their benefits by accepting them instead of wage increases. For the aging workers themselves, existing medical benefits are not only a prized financial cushion but also a stirring symbol of their union's accomplishments.

In fact, union officials argue that their system — which has held the rate of growth in health care costs for autoworkers below the national rate — could serve as a national model.

If there is a strike this year, union and company officials and financial analysts say, medical care is the issue that will provide it.

"When the company says 'no-payment,' a lot of UAW members hear 'strike,'" said Harley Shaiken, a visiting professor at the University of California at Berkeley who specializes in labor relations.

The issue is how best, given existing benefits, to limit costs. The companies insist that asking workers to contribute each time they seek care will force them to be more selective. The union believes that the companies can better control costs by using their leverage as huge purchasers of medical care, much the way the Canadian government controls prices.

Already, the union and the companies have made some progress controlling costs by encouraging workers to move into managed care plans like networks of doctors and hospitals or health maintenance organizations.

"Everyone interested in health reform is watching these negotiations," said Dr. Paul Elwood, president of the Jack-

son Hole Group, an influential coalition of medical industry executives and analysts.

"It indicates how flexible the unions are going to be about health care reform" — an important issue, he said, since the Clinton administration has paid close attention to organized labor's concerns about medical care.

Health care experts, Dr. Elwood said, have long viewed the UAW's benefits package as contributing to rising medical costs because of its lack of controls. Without some mechanism for encouraging workers to choose the cheapest plan available, he said, costs would continue to grow.

As it is shaping up, the Clinton plan would have no effect on the autoworkers' benefits during the term of the next contract. Down the road, it would force them to pay federal income tax on benefits that exceed those in a standard package guaranteed to all Americans.

In addition, in another sharp departure from current law, employers could not take tax deductions for money they spend on the extra benefits, administration officials have indicated.

"The companies have repeatedly said they cannot wait for an overhaul of national health care to control their costs."

Some form of cost-sharing, the companies argue, will discourage frivolous doctors' visits by workers. But the union predicts that that approach will only generate greater costs later on — when that slight chest pain, ignored by the penny-pinching worker, turns into cardiac arrest.

Union leaders and members are adamant that they will never pay more. As Mr. Torok, who spent most of his 17 years with GM assembling housings for air filters, declares: "We fought too damn hard for health care."

## Plotters Weighed Kidnapping Nixon

By Ralph Blumenthal  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — A government informer and the man charged with leading a foiled plot to bomb New York City targets discussed abducting former President Richard Nixon and his former secretary of state and adviser, Henry Kissinger, according to lawyers who have seen transcripts of tape-recorded evidence in the case.

The two U.S. leaders were mentioned on the tape as possible targets in a hostage-taking scheme aimed at winning the release of Muslims being held in federal custody in connection with the bombing of the World Trade Center in February, the lawyers said.

In the secretly taped conversation, the informer, Emad Salem, and the suspect, Siddiq Ibrahim Siddiq Ali, talked about a scheme to kidnap influential Americans that had been suggested to them by Sayyid A. Nosair, the lawyers said.

Mr. Nosair, who was in a New York prison on charges stemming from the 1990 murder of the Jewish militant leader Meir Kahane, was indicted recently on federal charges that he was part of a group that had plotted terrorist acts including the Trade Center explosion.

Mr. Salem and Mr. Siddiq Ali had just returned from a visit to Mr. Nosair at Attica prison when the conversation was recorded.

In the May 23 conversation, recorded by the informer, he and Mr. Siddiq Ali discussed removing Mr. Kissinger's clothes, fearing that they might contain a device that

would make it easier for authorities to locate him, the lawyers said.

Ronald L. Kuby, a lawyer for Mr. Siddiq Ali, said, "There was no conspiracy to take hostages."

Mr. Kuby and other defense lawyers plan to prove that Mr. Salem trapped their clients by initiating talk of targets and showing them how to make a bomb.

There is no evidence to indicate that a scheme to kidnap Mr. Kissinger and Mr. Nixon ever took concrete form. A prosecutor in the case, Andrew McCarthy, did not return telephone calls.

Mr. Kissinger, who is now a consultant on international security affairs, said Sunday that he was unaware of the alleged threat. Mr. Nixon could not be reached for comment.

## Away From Politics

• A smaller percentage U.S. households was victimized by violent crime or thefts last year than in any year since the Justice Department's Bureau of Justice Statistics started counting in 1975. Altogether, 22 million of the nation's almost 100 million households were affected by crime last year, about 23 percent. In 1975, 32 percent of American households was hit by at least one crime.

• Women who had sons by David Koresch, the leader of the Branch Davidian cult in Waco, Texas, say he fathered 12 of the 17 children who died when fire swept through his compound on April 19. The children ranged in age from 1 to 4 and were born to six cult members other than Mr. Koresch's wife, the Waco Tribune-Herald reported Sunday. Mr. Koresch and the children were among 85 people who died as FBI agents stormed its cluster of buildings.

• The first day of school in Chicago was pushed back almost a week by the Board of Education, which said a hiring freeze and 7,000 job vacancies mean there are not enough teachers to fill the classrooms. Classes had been scheduled to start on Wednesday, but the board voted unanimously Sunday to delay that until at least Sept. 14. Chicago is the nation's third-largest public school district with about 411,000 students.

UPI/AP

## CLINTON: Back in Town, and Reinventing Himself

Continued from Page 1

unchallenged. On the trade pact, he faces opposition from such traditionally Democratic groups as labor and some black and Hispanic organizations as well as from the independent activist Ross Perot. His aides estimated last week that they would need and probably could get 140 to 150 Republican votes in the House, to which one Republican congressman responded, "They're kidding themselves."

Many Republicans, looking at the president's performance and at the unpopularity of the trade agreement, question whether Mr. Clinton will squander his capital on an issue that could backfire when he needs backing elsewhere.

Bill McInturff, a poll-taker for many House Republicans and a trade accord supporter, said Republicans for whom the vote will be risky are asking themselves, "Why should I be Bill Clinton's profile in courage if he can't deliver more House Democrats?"

"There is going to have to be a lot of blood on the floor to win this vote," Mr. McInturff said. But Mr. Clinton "has done nothing that convinces them he will go to the mat and provide the air cover they need," he added, invoking doubts about the president's political courage. White House aides acknowledge that some congressional Democrats have similar doubts.

The counselor to the president, David Gergen, said Mr. Clinton

was "absolutely committed" to the trade treaty, and others have said the pact was the issue on which the president could make the case that he was willing to do not only the popular but the unpopular.

"I happen to think the Perot opposition and the union opposition is really, in fact, good for us," said one senior aide, "because he can show he will fight for something he believes in."

On health care, the White House, joined to the Democratic Party apparatus, is planning a huge opening salvo to try to assure that the program is well received. Administration officials acknowledge the vast size of the program, the array of forces opposed to one or more elements of it and the need to work with Republicans when no cooperative working arrangements exist.

Only in reinventing government is Mr. Clinton tackling a virtually risk-free issue. "Americans are convinced government does not work," an official said, "and this will be the first time a Democratic president stood up and agreed with them. I can't overestimate the public appeal of that."

Republicans may try to up the

ante by asking for even more cutting and reorganizing, but the president, at least for a few days, is likely to have the spotlight.

Harold F. Bass Jr., a political scientist who studies presidential leadership, said Mr. Clinton had been "largely sidetracked and inarticulate" in getting Americans to see him as "a centrist, seeking to lead his fellow Democrats back into the moderate mainstream."

"He has paid a high price for that," Mr. Bass said. For the most part, Mr. Clinton's advisers would not disagree.

The reinventing of government and health-care reform, an aide said, "are issues that have some pop politically." By championing them, Mr. Clinton will be arguing for things Americans want rather than pushing what they do not want, such as tax increases and stimulus spending.

By all accounts, Mr. Clinton's vacation did him well. Aides described him as having shaken some of the bitterness that was on display in August as he headed out of town. "I never want to go through" another six months like the first, the president had said at least three times.

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## Britain Faces Rights Charge

### Commission to Examine IRA Trio's Killing

*International Herald Tribune*

In what could be a serious political embarrassment for the British government, the European Commission on Human Rights agreed Monday in Strasbourg, France, to examine allegations that Britain operated a shoot-to-kill policy against IRA guerrillas.

Relatives of three members of the Irish Republican Army who were shot and killed by British forces in Gibraltar in 1988 charged that the shooting violated the European Human Rights Convention's guarantee of right to life.

If the closed-door commission upholds the charge, in a process that could take at least a year, according to a spokesman, it will send the case to the European Court for a public hearing.

Largely because of its lack of a written constitution, Britain is one of the countries most sum-

moned before the court, which allows ordinary citizens to challenge government after exhausting domestic judicial resources.

Britain has been accused 56 times and found in violation of the Human Rights Convention on 30 occasions — second only to Italy, which has been accused 114 times, mostly in cases involving the slowness of its judicial system, and has lost 78 times.

The relatives turned to the Human Rights Commission after the High Court of Justice in Northern Ireland rejected their plea for compensation.

An inquest in Gibraltar found that the killing by three unidentified soldiers was lawful, even though the IRA members — Danny McCann, Mairead Farrell and Sean Savage — were unarmed and allegedly were given no warning.

The relatives' lawyer, Paddy McGrory, said in Dublin that

Britain risked being exposed as a country "whose security forces would murder people in the streets because it is a cheap and convenient way of dealing with the matter."

The soldiers told the inquest that they had opened fire because they feared the IRA members were armed and had a remote control device for a car bomb.

The relatives also accused Britain of intimidating witnesses at the inquest and suppressing evidence.

Britain has made no official response to the allegation that its soldiers are "trained to shoot to kill without warning," as the relatives charge.

After the shooting, the Spanish police found a car packed with explosives, and officials asserted that the commandos clearly had intended to drive it to Gibraltar and detonate it there.

## CHINA: Jettisoning Communism, Leaders Grope Toward Market-Leninism

Continued from Page 1

superpower could emerge in the 21st century. If it fails to transform itself economically and politically, perhaps collapsing under popular resentments and ethnic and geographical divisions, then many Chinese officials believe that civil war and chaos are possible. In that case, more than one-fifth of humanity could be caught in the upheavals, new states with nuclear weapons could pop up in the center of Asia, and a tidal wave of tens of millions of refugees could engulf distant shores.

But whatever the future holds, it is already pretty clear that China is no longer a Communist country in any meaningful sense.

No Communist country, at least, has ever so fully embraced stock markets, satellite television, private colleges, music video and radio talk shows. The Communist Party still commands, but its branches no longer devote much energy to controlling ideology. The business of the party now is business.

The State Security Ministry runs a bakery, the Police Ministry sells electric cattle prods, and — until it was caught — the party's women's organization ran a brothel.

The party's avarice and materialism tend to impress visitors, who are dizzied by aggressive quasi-cap-

italism: the glitzy discos that keep bopping until the wee hours, the 30 Rolls-Royces sold so far this year in China, the luxury restaurants that sprinkle bits of 24-karat gold into dishes because rich patrons think it is good for longevity.

Yet all this is froth, and misleading froth at that.

In the countryside, with three-

The official complained that social order was disintegrating because of an almost universal desire to make money, and he seemed to know something about that. His purpose in arranging the meeting was to try to sell top-secret information about sales of Chinese M-11 ballistic missiles to Pakistan.

He offered to provide the dates

**'In many ways, what is happening in China today is more revolutionary than what the Communists did.'**

Thomas B. Gold, a sociologist

quarters of the population, the peasants are more likely to inhabit caves than discos, and for every Chinese who eats gold there are millions who cannot afford meat.

Just as important, this scramble to get rich may be undermining values. The Chinese have a saying: *yi fang, jiu huan* — as soon as control cases, there is chaos.

"All the time in Chinese history, when you don't have strong rule, you get chaos and warlords," said a military official. "If we try to get too much democracy, it'll all fall apart again. China will disintegrate, and it'll be worse than in the Soviet Union."

of shipments, quantities and other specific data in exchange for cash.

The United States has concluded that China was selling the missile technology to Pakistan, in violation of international agreements, and imposed economic sanctions as a punishment. But the United States has not determined whether China has sold the complete missiles themselves to Pakistan.

Told that reporters do not pay for information, the official asked for an introduction to a U.S. diplomat who would pay. When that request was turned down as well, he declined to provide information about M-11 shipments.

Corruption has grown to such huge proportions that President Jiang Zemin has warned that it threatened to ruin the party itself. A few years ago, the problem was petty bribery of a few dollars. Now officials steal millions or billions.

In June, the Agricultural Bank of China disclosed that some officers had issued fraudulent letters of credit for \$10 billion. The fraud was revealed only because the bank wanted to make clear that it would not honor the documents.

Minor graft has turned into organized crime. Particularly in coastal areas of southern China, party and army officials have joined forces with criminal gangs in Hong Kong and in Chinatowns abroad to engage in smuggling and other rackets.

Police officials in Beijing run a prostitution racket out of an army-owned hotel. Doctors demand bribes of hundreds of dollars to perform major surgery, and journalists demand payoffs for attending corporate news conferences.

"Corruption is much worse now than it ever was under the Nationalists," said an octogenarian former official. It is a bold statement, for corruption was so rampant under the Nationalists that the government had virtually rotted away by the time the Communists overthrew it in 1949.

The old man was eating dinner in the spacious apartment that the Communists gave him as a reward for many decades of faithful service. He has enjoyed all the perquisites of power in China and has even played bridge with Mr. Deng, but, largely because of the corruption, the party's esteem for him is not reciprocated.

"I'll tell you, in 1949, I hated the Nationalists," the old man said. "I went to welcome the Communists when they entered Beijing and I cheered for them. When a Communist soldier was shot, I went to get help for him. At a meeting in my office to discuss what to do, I was the first to speak out. I said we should support the Communist Party."

"Now, I would welcome the Nationalists back," he added bitterly. "In fact, I would go out and lead them into Beijing."

Even many Communist leaders are said to acknowledge privately that the grand experiment to which they have devoted their lives has in many respects been a failure.

"None of them really believe in communism any more," said the child of a Politburo member. The widow of a leader said: "He stopped believing all that long ago, but what could he do? The only person he could admit it to was me."

Some Chinese believe that the Communist Party is a collapsing dynasty, just like all others that have disintegrated in the past. They point to the irrelevance of its ideology like that of Confucianism a century ago, before the Ching Dynasty ended in 1912.

There is a huge difference, however, between the end of the Ching Dynasty and China today. In the 1990s, China has the fastest growing economy in the world.

Professor Thomas B. Gold, a sociologist at the University of California, Berkeley, agrees that China resembles a disintegrating dynasty, but he argues that the economic boom makes a crucial difference. It may have the momentum to keep the country going, he said.

"In many ways, what is happening in China today is more revolutionary than what the Communists did," Mr. Gold said.

The emerging China, Mr. Gold and other scholars suggest, will look increasingly like Taiwan and South Korea.

The uncertainty about China's prospects reflects a long debate about whether a market for goods can flourish for long if there is no companion market for ideas. Particularly in the West, many people assume that China will be unable to liberalize its economy if it does not liberalize its political system.

Yet, in Asia, many people draw the opposite conclusion. They see democracies like the Philippines where economic growth is anemic and conclude that industry grows best in tightly controlled political greenhouses like China. The Soviet Union under Mikhail S. Gorbachev emphasized *glasnost* more than *perestroika* — openness more than economic restructuring — while China has churned up some impressive statistics by trying *perestroika* more than *glasnost*.

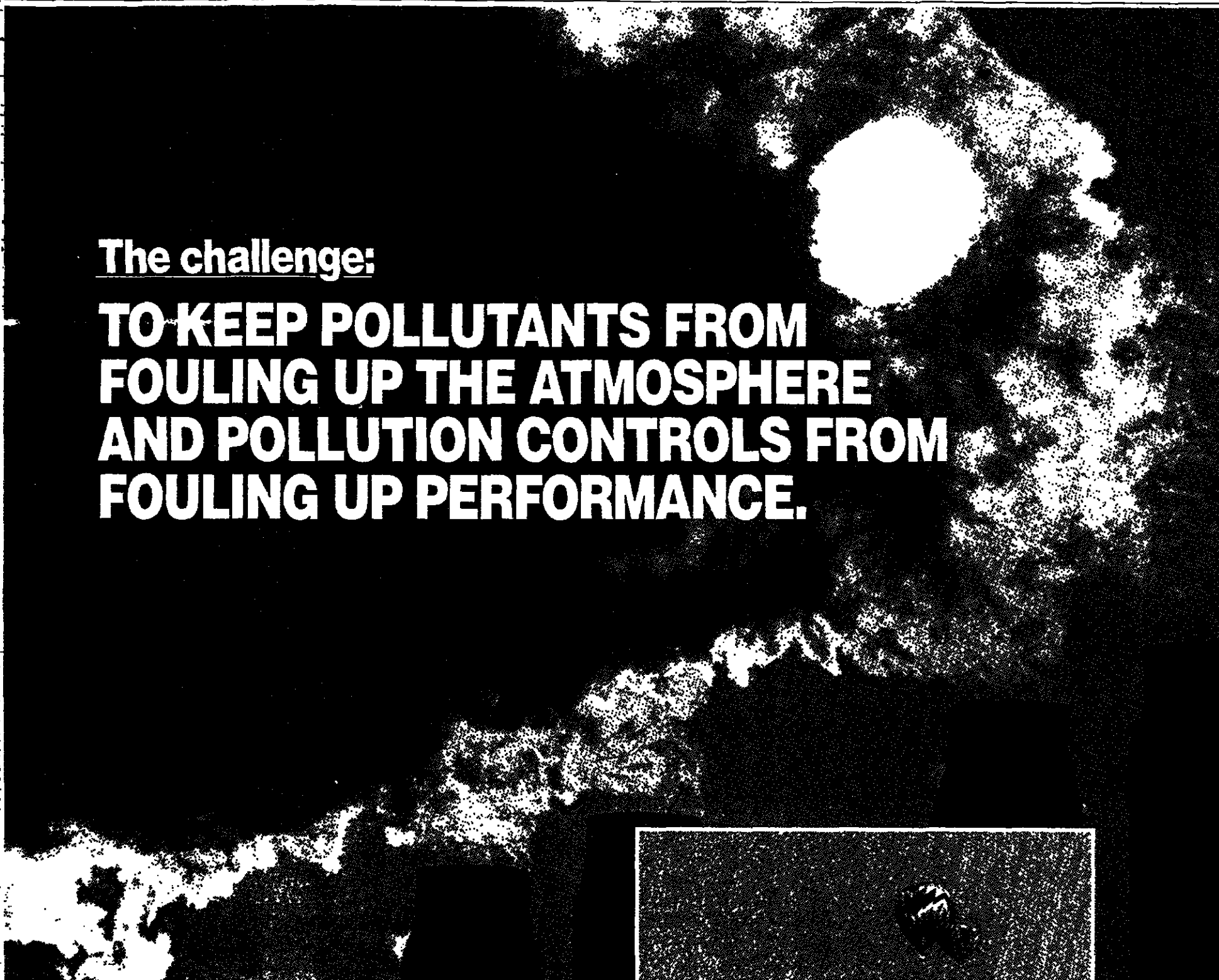
If China continues to thrive, it will offer a lesson to the Third World that the West may find profoundly unsettling: Political repression is the grease that can lubricate an economic boom.

Some young Chinese intellectuals worry that the Communist Party will survive the collapse of communism, and that what the leadership is really trying to build is fascism. Mao himself was the first to warn of this risk.

"We are afraid that we will stop being a revolutionary country and will become a revisionist one," the chairman said in 1963. "When that happens in a socialist country, it becomes worse than a capitalist country. A Communist Party can turn into a fascist party."

The first of two articles.

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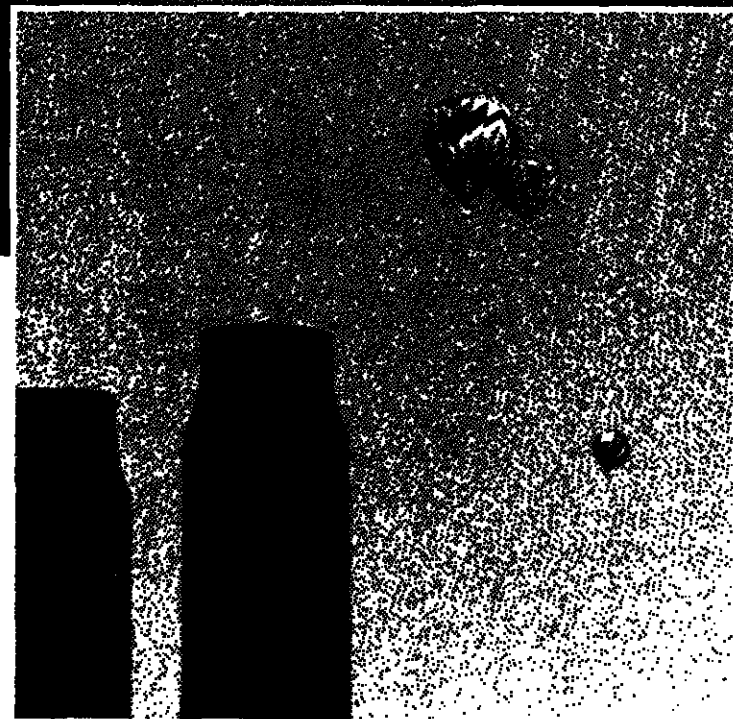


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### PLO: Signing Predicted Next Week

Continued from Page 1

between groups favoring and opposing the deal.

But in Cairo, aides to Mr. Arafat said he was now studying the final steps toward mutual recognition by Israel and the PLO. The aide said Israel was waiting for a PLO declaration that it renounces terrorism, recognize Israel's right to exist in peace and security, and declare null and void the article in the PLO charter that calls for the destruction of Israel.

The aide, who asked not to be identified, said Mr. Arafat was authorized to make the declaration himself, without needing to consult the Palestine National Council, the Palestinians' 600-member parliament-in-exile.

"The Israelis want a letter from us to them, and then they will send us their response," the aide said.

Mr. Arafat will meet Tuesday with President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt before traveling to Oman for the next stage in his campaign to build Arab support for his initiative.

The Syrians and the Lebanese, as

well as Jordanians, have expressed displeasure at not having been consulted earlier by Mr. Arafat, whose deal with Israel was the result of at least 14 secret meetings held in Norway, outside the scope of the U.S.-sponsored Middle East peace talks. These talks, now in their 11th round in Washington, involve Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and the Palestinian leadership.

The Syrians, like the Jordanians, have already had their own bilateral talks with Israel, and there has been widespread speculation in Israel that Damascus and the government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin may be close to a deal regarding the Golan Heights.

But in Beirut, where Syrian and Lebanese officials met Monday to discuss Mr. Arafat's initiative, Foreign Minister Farouk Shara of Syria denied that there had been any progress toward a bilateral agreement with Israel.

Foreign Minister Faris Bouze of Lebanon also said there had been no movement in their talks with Israel. "A certain state of immobility has characterized this last round so far," he said.

The Syrians want Israel to withdraw troops and settlements from the Golan Heights, which Israel occupied following the 1967 war, in return for a Syrian offer of full peace to Israel.

In an interview with Al-Ahram, the Egyptian newspaper, Mr. Arafat was quoted Monday night as saying there has been "progress on the other tracks, and some of these tracks are almost finalized."

On Saturday, the Palestinian leader said he expected that Syria, Jordan and Lebanon would sign their separate agreements with Israel at the same time as the PLO.

Jordanian officials have already said they expect to ratify a draft outline of a proposed peace accord with Israel, once the PLO and Israel agree.

Mr. Arafat's meeting with Mr. Assad on Sunday night in Damascus was pivotal, since the Syrian president is not only the most hard-line of Israel's Arab neighbors but also commands wide influence among Palestinian radical groups opposed to Mr. Arafat's initiative.

### Israel Readmits An Arab Activist

New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — Five years after he was deported for organizing protests in the occupied territories, Mubarak Awad, a Palestinian-American advocate of nonviolence, returned Monday for a 10-day visit after his entry was approved by the Israeli security authorities.

Mr. Awad, a naturalized American citizen born in Jerusalem, was granted a visa after he had petitioned the Israeli Supreme Court for an entry permit to attend a conference on nonviolence. Officials said permission was granted as a goodwill gesture linked to the progress in peace talks.

"This shows that the Israelis are really moving toward peace, not just maneuvering," Mr. Awad said. He lives in Washington. Israel deported him in June 1988, several months after the outbreak of the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories.

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# Kravchuk Takes Heat on Fleet Decision

**KIEV** — President Leonid M. Kravchuk of Ukraine on Monday defended a decision to sell the republic's share of the Black Sea fleet to Russia but said parliament would have the final word.

Mr. Kravchuk said Ukraine's economic situation was such that it had no choice but to sell its share of the fleet to pay its debts to Russia, notably for oil.

President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia announced the deal after talks with Mr. Kravchuk in Yalta on Friday, saying Russia would wipe the debt slate clean in exchange for the 300-ship fleet, which has been shared by the republics since the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991. The two leaders also reached agreement on transferring Ukraine's 1,800 nuclear warheads for dismantling, in exchange for nuclear reactor fuel.

The agreement brought protests among nationalist Ukrainian leaders, some of whom demanded Mr. Kravchuk's resignation.

"I go along with the position that the Black Sea warships belonging to Ukraine must be sold," Mr. Kravchuk said, adding that Kiev had underestimated the seriousness of the economic crisis.

"We must sell all surplus armaments to obtain money," he added, "after which we can rebuild the Ukrainian Navy."

Russia drove a "very hard" bargain at the summit talks, he said, but Ukraine had to face realities, including energy debts of more than \$2 billion.

Nevertheless, Mr. Kravchuk made it clear that no agreement had been signed and that the final decision was up to the parliament.

He said his policy aimed to prevent conflict between the two former Soviet republics,

adding that Kiev might agree to a military union with Russia in the Black Sea, as proposed by Moscow.

On Russia's proposal to take charge of the dismantling of the nuclear warheads still stationed in the Ukraine, the president said the agreement would come into force once it had been ratified.

Mr. Yeltsin said Russia would return uranium from the missiles to Ukraine to be used in reactors.

There was no indication when parliament would meet to ratify the agreement. It has so far failed to ratify the first round of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty signed by the former Soviet Union and the United States in 1991.

Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, the other nuclear-armed republics, have all ratified the treaty.

# LEGACY: Poland Gets Free-Market Progress With the Transitional Pain

**Continued from Page 1**

The shock therapy program that the post-Communist government launched in January 1990, BMWs and Mercedes-Benzes may cruise the streets of Warsaw and other big cities, but beggars have appeared on the sidewalks. The big state-owned factories that in 1980 gave birth to the Solidarity union movement are practically all bankrupt. In some parts of the country, the unemployment rate has reached 30 or even 40 percent. The gap between rich and poor is growing daily.

What is happening in Poland may not be attractive, but it seems infinitely preferable to any other options on offer.

"There is no better place than Poland to observe the changes that have occurred in the former Soviet bloc," said Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz, puffing on his pipe.

As spokesman for Solidarity during the decade of its battle with the Communist regime, Mr. Onyszkiewicz is a living example of the changes that have swept Eastern Europe. Ten years ago, he and many of his Solidarity colleagues were in jail.

The view from the defense minister's office is cautiously optimistic. A chain of independent states — from Lithuania in the north to Ukraine in the south — now separates Poland from the bulk of Russia and the centuries-old threat it has posed from the east. The western border is also tranquil. Germany, which lost a 100-mile-wide swath of land to Poland after World War II, formally renounced all territorial claims in return for Polish support for German reunification.

The last four years have witnessed an epic military migration eastward. The Soviet Army is packing up and going home.

Viewed from Warsaw, there is a dreamlike quality to some of these developments, as if they were too good to be true.

"At the moment, Russia is weak," said Mr. Geremek, a prominent medieval historian before he turned to politics. "But we know that this is a transitional period. The Soviet empire could be succeeded by the Russian empire. In some years, Russia will become a superpower again — and the memory of this period of weakness will have an important psychological impact on a new generation of Russian leaders."

Poles also are wary of the xenophobic mood in many West European countries. Mr. Ger-

emek fears that the Oder and Neisse rivers, which separate Poland and Germany, could become a European Rio Grande, dividing the rich from the poor.

"We are fighting to obtain a place in Europe, but it is becoming more and more difficult," he said. "When we look westward, to the European Community, we do not see a policy of openness. We see markets that are closed to us."

During the last few years of its existence, Poland's Communist regime had an instantly recognizable, and widely detested, public face. Its features included a huge bald head, bulbous nose, sharp eyes and possibly the largest pair of ears in the country. With his officious mind and biting wit, Jerzy Urban — the chief spokesman of the government under the last Communist leader, General Wojciech Jaruzelski — was the scourge of Solidarity, the man who loved to be hated.

Today, as founder-owner of Poland's most widely read weekly magazine, Mr. Urban is a multimillionaire.

The transformation of a former Communist spokesman into a capitalist entrepreneur demonstrates the distance that Poland has come since it embarked on its forced march to a market economy following the election of a Solidarity-led government in the summer of 1989. It is also a reflection of the inevitable difficulties the country has encountered. Mr. Urban's formula for getting rich has been relentless criticism of what he considers to be the ugly side of capitalism.

Over the last three years, Poland has used the technique of shock therapy to dismantle its Marxist-style command economy. The removal of almost all controls over prices and the abrupt withdrawal of subsidies to state-owned factories — in one sweeping government act in January 1990 — transformed the economic life of the country almost overnight. It filled previously bare shop shelves with an abundance of food and consumer goods, and forced the bankrupt industrial dinosaurs that used to dominate the economy to radically restructure or go out of business.

Tight monetary policies brought Polish inflation down from more than 450 percent a year in the last months of Communist rule to around 35 percent today. The government also built up the national currency, the zloty, so it could be freely converted into Western currencies — allowing Western cars, electronics and other

imports to pour into a country long deprived of consumer goods, and fostering a favorable climate for investment by new Polish capitalists as well as Western companies, which have purchased some of Poland's biggest factories.

Within months, the post-Communist government succeeded in privatizing almost all of the country's stores and its retail trade, auctioning them off to the highest bidder. It set up a stock market and developed a program — yet to be fully implemented — to privatize larger state companies en masse by creating Western-managed investment funds to own and operate them.

The results, at least on paper, have been impressive. After a steep drop in production in 1990-91, the Polish economy has begun to expand. Industrial output in the first half of this year was nearly 10 percent higher than in the same period last year. The foreign trade balance is in the black, as exports to the West have grown astronomically. The nearly 2 million private firms in the country account for 45 percent of the economy.

The downside is equally obvious. The closing of money-losing state-owned companies has spread unemployment, now at 3 million people, or nearly 16 percent of the work force. Like other former Communist countries, Poland has also suffered from a series of corruption scandals. The crime rate has shot up.

"The social consequences of the changes that have taken place in Poland are very painful for the majority, and this majority is expressing its unhappiness," said Mr. Urban, explaining the phenomenal success of his magazine, *Nie* (Polish for "No"), which is based on a formula of criticism, satire and erotic cartoons.

There is, of course, an irony in all this: Few people have benefited more from the new order than Mr. Urban. With his gold cufflinks, polkadot tie and cream suit, he is the very image of the nouveau riche. As he relaxes on the terrace of his luxury villa — the former residence of the Mexican ambassador — his chauffeur polishes his blue-green Jaguar in the immaculately tended courtyard beneath.

Although he would never concede the point in his own magazine, Mr. Urban acknowledges that many of the changes in the country have been for the better.

"The economic system that we have now is more logical, more concise," he conceded. "The political regime is definitely superior to the one that I was defending."

# BOOKS

## IN THE REALM OF APPEARANCES:

### The Art of Andy Warhol

By John Yau. 128 pages. \$19.95. The Ecco Press.

Reviewed by Richard Eder

OUT of his corner, windmilling and punching up a storm, comes the poet, critic and gadfly of the art scene, John Yau. Yau is addressing the 30-year Andy Warhol phenomenon, in decline, perhaps, since a depressed art market and the inevitable leakage of hype out of a posthumous balloon cost the \$600 million valuation of his estate by two-thirds.

More generally, Yau's collection of epigrams, apothegms and plain insults buzzes around the wider phenomenon of Pop Art and postmodernism. Not that postmodernism, Pop Art or even Warhol are necessarily his targets; sometimes he seems to speak out for them. In this intellectually unozoned book, where ramshackle shanties multiply among at least one shining construction and a few elegant ones, it is not always clear where Yau stands. Many of his punches are aimed at the art and art-critical establishment, but he hops back and forth and gets in the way of some of them himself.

Yau is provocative to a fault. The trouble with saying so is that it is misleading as well as true. Misleading, because in our combative culture "provocative" is a compliment. Provocation has been the reigning piety of the Western tradition at least since Erasmus. It would be wrong to question it but not, perhaps, to point out that it can stunt as well as generate. Sideswiping a baby carriage is provocative.

Yau spares baby carriages, but he is pretty lethal with writers who deal with contemporary art. Brilliant in one important respect, the book is confusing, repetitive and disjointed. An epigrammatic approach can take all this: what it requires, on the other hand, is glittering sentences. Many of Yau's ignite a spark and immediately envelop it in smoke. Others can be sloppy.

But Yau has a number of ideas that are provocative in more than the baby-carriage sense. One in particular makes the scattershot bombardments just about worth getting through. It proposes an illuminating distinction in one of the great lineages of contemporary art; the one that goes back to Dada and Surrealism and comes down to the present day, and that runs from Marcel Duchamp and René Magritte down to Warhol, Jasper Johns, Julian Schnabel and Jeff Koons. John Cage in music, and a whole range of performance art.

Among the apparent frivolity, the comic shock effects, the seemingly perverse irreverence, the de-

liberately glitzy outrageousness that characterize these artists in different ways, Yau makes a fundamental distinction. In Duchamp, Cage and Johns he sees a continuity of the artistic tradition of a search for reality, however idiosyncratic the means. In Warhol and his followers he sees a kind of abdication from the search, in favor of aesthetic complicity with what will sell. For Duchamp and his heirs — I extrapolate Yau's point — outrageous wit is a way of expressing what is real; for Warhol it is something that will be publicized and sold because there is no artistic reality apart from publicity and sales.

Yau goes on to try to pin down the difference, and he does it persuasively. He compares Cage's "4'33'" in which the performer sits still and gives us silence for the length of the title, with Warhol's film, "Empire," which is an eight-hour shot of the Empire State Building. Seemingly alike, the two provide entirely different experiences. The silence in Cage is transparent; we sense the pulse not only of our own body rhythms, but those of our neighbors and the sounds that may come through the windows. They open us up to a dynamic introspection. "It is the very opposite of silence," Yau writes. "It directs us towards what Tennyson called 'the noise of life.'"

By contrast, "Empire" seems to shut us down; "it muffles the noise of life."

This may appear tenuous or arbitrary, yet it does correspond to the very different experiences offered by the two works. Yau goes on to make an even riskier — yet to me convincing — contrast between Warhol's Brillo boxes and the Jasper Johns sculpture of two bronzed beer cans, one full and one open and empty. The first we glance off of; it proclaims its own lack of any meaning beyond its surface. The second entangles us.

Not only does Yau have the courage to assert what is undemonstrable, yet seems instinctively right, but he further suggests a figure that be-

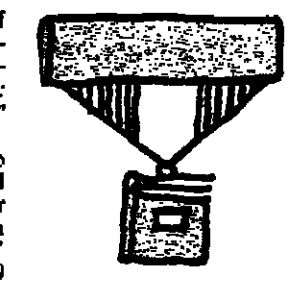
gins to account for it. Duchamp, Cage and Johns draw us into a sense of the passage of time — You call it the "during" of their work — whereas the work of Warhol and his epigones is instantaneous in its effect and deliberately without reverberation. The passage of time, the journey our musings take, connect us to reality. They assert the processes of life in its flowering, its entropy and its sadness. This is an insight that gives Yau's book, despite its many flaws, a "during" of its own: one that keeps ticking away after we have finished it.

Richard Eder is on the staff of the Los Angeles Times.

## WHAT THEY'RE READING

• Murray L. Weidenbaum, head of the Center for the Study of American Business at Washington University, is reading "Inner Circles: How America Changed the World," a memoir by Alexander Haig.

"I know Al Haig but I had no idea what a pivotal role he had played with MacArthur in the Far East, as commander of NATO in Europe, and so many other places," (Lawrence Malin, IHT)



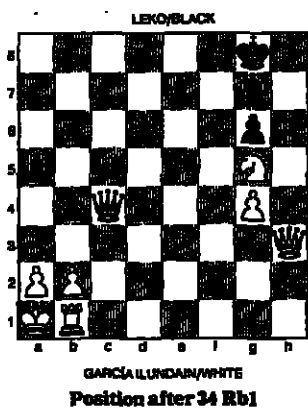
## CHESS

### By Robert Byrne

PETER Leko of Hungary, 14 years old, beat David Garcia Ilundain the Spanish international grandmaster in early June.

In the Benoni Defense, it is usual for Black to play an early...d6 to prevent White from gaining too much ground with e5, but Leko held off to save a tempo for his aggressive thrust with 6...b5! On 7 Bb5, there would have followed 7...Nc4 8 Ne4 Qa5 9 Nc3 Bc3 10 Be5 with good play for Black.

Leko's artistic Ilundain advances with 7 e5 Ng4 8 Bc4 b4 9 Ne4 Qb6, ready to meet 10 Qd2 by whitening down the white center with 10...f6. He had no fear of 10 h3 Nf6 11 g4, which he could have countered by 11...f5! 12 e4 of 13 Bd6 Re8 14 Bc5 Qa5 15 Nd6 Re2! 16 Qc2 Qc5 17 Qe8 Bf8 18 Qe8 Qc8 19 Ne8 Na6 20 Na7 Ra7.



Ilundain threw caution to the winds with 31 Qa2, but after 31...Qd3 32 Ng5 Qd4!, he still could not get the attack he was trying for.

After 34...d3! 35 Qh7 Kf8, Garcia Ilundain could not capture with 36 Qg6? because of 36...Bb2! 37 Rb2 Rf3 38 Rb1 Qc3 mate.

After 39 Qg7, Garcia Ilundain was hoping that he could expose the black king, but on 39...d2! 40 Qg6 Kd7 41 Qb6 Rf4 42 Qa7 Ke8, there was no perpetual check and no defense against 43...Rb1 44 Kbl d1/Q mate. Garcia Ilundain gave up.

BENONI DEFENSE			
White	Black	White	Black
Garcia	Leko	Garcia	Leko
1 d4	Nf6	22 h5	Ne5
2 Nf3	e5	23 Bg3	Bd5
3 e4	g6	24 hg	Qc5
4 Nc3	g7	25 Ng3	Bh1
5 e4	O-O	26 Rf1	fg
6 Bg2	b5	27 Ne4	Kg8
7 e5	Ng4	28 Kf1	Nd1
8 Bf4	b4	29 cd	Qb5
9 Ne4	Qb6	30 Ka1	Rf8
10 Bc4	h5	31 Qg2	Qd5
11 Qd2	Nf5	32 Ng5	Qc4
12 g4	Nd4	33 Qc3	Rf2
13 Nd4	cd	34 Rb1	g1
14 O-O	a5	35 Qf7	Kf8
15 Bf4	Bg6	36 Qh1	g5
16 Rf1	Rf8	37 Ne4	Kf7
17 f4	Bg7	38 Qd7	Ke8
18 f5	Bd7	39 Qg7	g2
19 Bc4	g5	40 Qg6	Kd7
20 Bf4	Nd7	41 Qb6	Rf1
21 fg	hg	42 Qf7	Ke8
		43 Ranga	

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Netherlands	770	808	420	441	230	230
Norway	3,200	3,360	1,800	1,900	1,050	1,050
Portugal	47,000	49,300	26,000	27,500	14,000	14,000
Spain	48,000	50,400	26,500	28,000	14,500	14,500
Switzerland	55,000	57,750	27,500	29,000	15,000	15,000
Sweden (Lithuania)	3,100	3,270	1,700	1,800	900	900
Sweden (Denmark)	3,500	3,675	1,900	2,000	1,000	1,000
Rest of Europe, N Africa, former French Africa, Middle East	610	640	335	355	185	185
Gulf States, Asia, Central and South America	830	871	445	470	250	250
Rest of Africa	900	945	495	525	270	270

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Defense Industrial Policy

The Clinton administration is right in saying that America needs a defense industrial policy, but the idea is not as new as it sounds.

Peronist Backsliding

Argentina's president, Carlos Menem, proudly claims the mantle of Juan Peron, the charismatic strongman who transformed his nation from the 1940s through the '70s.

A Changing Labor Scene

At a time when America's biggest companies are abruptly laying off longtime employees by the thousands, it is not surprising that Americans' thinking about jobs and job loyalty is changing.

Other Comment

Doubts about the Sanctions President Bill Clinton's concern about the proliferation of weapons would have been more convincing if the sanctions imposed on China did not look suspiciously like diplomatic temporizing.



Postpone NAFTA Until Mexicans Get Democracy

WASHINGTON—A recent chorus of editorials and opinion columns supporting the North American Free Trade Agreement reflects the widespread Washington delusion that the proposal is in trouble because labor unions, environmentalists and right-wing know-nothings are playing on the irrational fears of a public ignorant of economics.

Democracy is the only guarantee that freer trade will help the workers on both sides of the border.

ment is spending at least \$30 million to promote it, and U.S. corporations have added millions more. The interests behind NAFTA should save their money. Polls show that the more average working people hear about NAFTA, the less they like it.

Marcos: Filipinos Don't Need This Ghoulish Fuss

HONOLULU—The body of Ferdinand Marcos returns to the Philippines Tuesday from Hawaii. Although he died in exile three and a half years ago, political turbulence still swirls around his name.

Immigration: Stem the Flow, Savings Will Follow

HOUSTON—In 1992, two major studies reported that immigrants used up a lot more public money — for education, medical care, welfare and other social benefits — than they paid in taxes that year.

International Herald Tribune advertisement listing staff members: KATHERINE GRAHAM, ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, RICHARD McCLEAN, JOHN VINOCUR, etc.

A Bargain Worth The Risk

By Michael Oren The writer is director of the Israel Office of the American Jewish Committee.

JERUSALEM—In the past, Israeli leaders could only dream of such a situation. World attention, drawn to bloodshed elsewhere, is no longer riveted on the Middle East.

The new Israelis alter the priorities of the old.

them to deal with more pressing concerns, such as economic development and Islamic fundamentalism. Such expediency is good news for Israel, but not so good as to make it cede parts of the biblical homeland or to take tremendous steps for peace.

The writer, president of the Economic Policy Institute, contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1893: Russians Welcome

PARIS—The enthusiasm aroused by the coming visit of the Russian fleet to Toulon, which is regarded as a public affirmation of the Franco-Russian alliance, is steadily increasing.

1918: Horizon in Flames

WITH THE FRENCH ARMIES—At the present rate of progress the Allies will soon have driven the enemy from all the ground gained by him this year.

1943: U.S. Responsibility

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts—[From our New York edition:] Prime Minister Churchill made a frank plea today [Sept. 6] for post-war British-American co-operation.

Correction

The article on this page yesterday by Amos Oz was adapted by The Washington Post and abridged by the International Herald Tribune.

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OPINION

A Semblance of Movement To Fight a Real Gridlock

By William Safire

HARPERS FERRY, West Virginia — In his story of "The Purloined Letter," Edgar Allan Poe showed that the best place to hide anything from avid searchers is to leave it in plain view.

For Clinton to break the legislative deadlock will require a broad front that engages a range of armies — not a beachhead that can be stopped by a single party or coalition.

phrase and a synthesis that reveal his emerging political plan.

The phrase was "Forward Together." I remember those words. In Richard Nixon's 1968 campaign, the candidate purported to see a little girl in Wendell Ohio, waving a handmade sign, "Bring Us Together."

Mr. Clinton evidently considers that sense of movement, a feeling of change, to be central to whatever Clintonism is. He made the case in his campaign that democracy in America has gone from John Locke to gridlock: now, with both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue controlled by one party, if he cannot overcome the executive-legislative impasse, his presidency will consist of one interminable term.

He had a close brush with gridlock death in his budget blundering. He and his liberal advisers know that if he tries another leftward lurch, Democrats in Congress will not fall on their swords to save his presidency or their party.

That is why he now reaches for bipartisan backing for a less ideological agenda. At this stage, movement in itself — any way but backward — is as important to Clintonism as the getting of a course. Only by building a floating majority can he build the momentum — in any direc-

tion — to overcome his bete noire, gridlock; hence, "Forward Together."

Forward, in Clintonese, no longer means "done by an activist government"; rather, it means "doe better and cheaper than now." This recalls Michael Dukakis's stupefying "competence, not ideology," but it goes on to promise more service at less cost. To jump-start this activity, he must wire his crusades in parallel, not in series, lighting up the landscape by generating a whole new set of controversies.

The necessary sense of movement, of breaking a deadlock, needs a broad front that engages a range of armies — not a beachhead that can be stopped, as it almost was in the budget fight, by a single party, or as it could be in trade or health policy, by a single coalition.

In this weekend's radio address, Mr. Clinton placed his policy on a tripod: extended health care, appealing mainly to the left; free trade through NAFTA, appealing to the right; the savings of government efficiency through "reinvention," attractive to all. Despite warnings of legislative indigestion or public-debate overload, Mr. Clinton is presenting them together.

Why? If your purpose is to defeat gridlock, you must break up the usual alliances of entrenched interests, realign the correlation of forces, reshuffle the deck. This is not merely Harry Truman's "if you can't convince 'em, confuse 'em"; it reflects a conscious effort to scramble the old order.

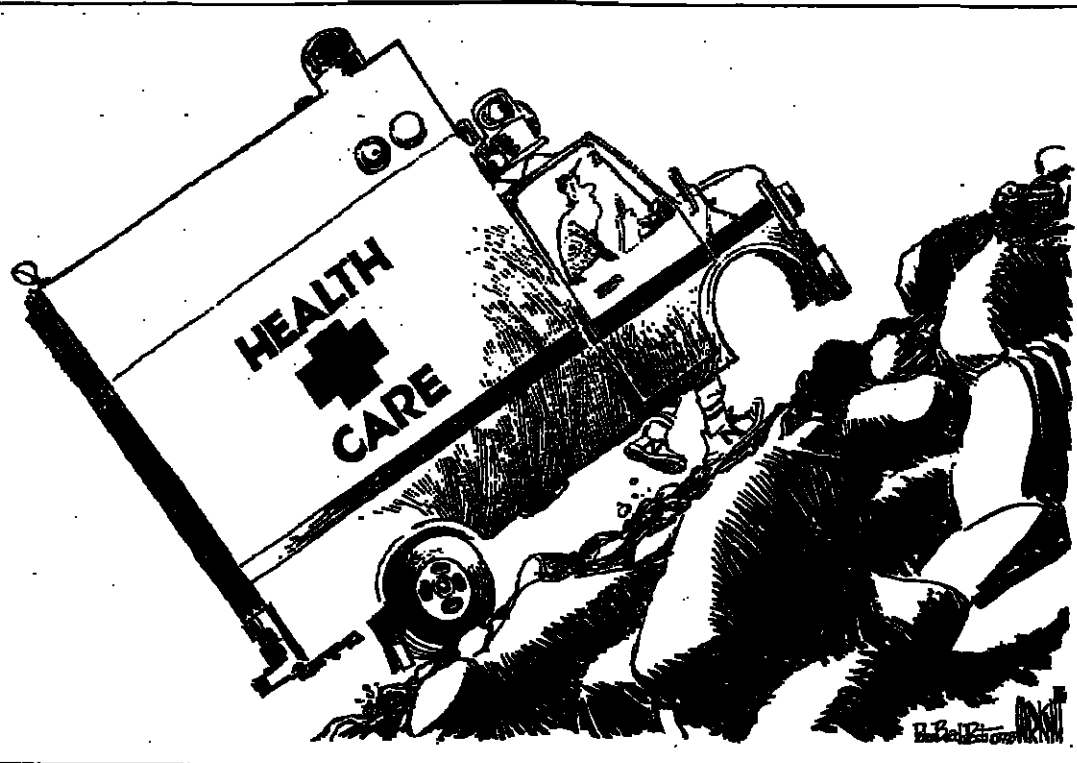
That scrambling takes place even within each of the three elements. Health care expansion, which began with scary statist talk of price controls and mandated employer coverage, is already turning toward less cradle-to-grave coverage with small-business relief, and labor giveaways to certain taxpayer subsidies.

In the same way, Al Gore's "reinvention" bureaucracy tries to be union-friendly, empowering workers at the expense of expendable managers; employment is also at the root of the NAFTA scrap, which attracts Bob Dole to Mr. Clinton's side while placing Ross Perot on Ralph Nader's lap.

This is not a mad scramble; this is Clintonism's deliberate scramble of contentions, with job enhancement or endangerment the common denominator. A great stirring of the pot is what The Great Tumbler from Arkansas means by "Forward Together."

The New York Times.

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Road to Peace

We Somalis strongly support the Somali National Alliance's appeal to India, the Philippines and other countries not to send additional troops to Somalia to participate in the genocide and destruction peddled by the United States.

We urge the international community to advise the aggressive American government to stop interfering in internal Somali politics and allow the people of Somalia to run their own affairs.

Some people believe that the only way to restore the United Nations' credibility in Somalia is for the failed U.S. military approach, and attempts to kill or arrest General Mohammed Farah Aidiid, to be dropped. A trusted outsider must be appointed to restart disarmament talks that would bring together all clans and factions, including General Aidiid's powerful alliance.

We strongly urge the international peace-loving community to support General Aidiid's call for former President Jimmy Carter to mediate the current fatal struggle between Somalia and U.S.-led UN forces, in order to reach peace and stability in Somalia and to avoid more bloodshed and destruction.

ALI ABDIRAHIM FAQL, Dubai.

Eastern Europe and NATO

President Boris Yeltsin of Russia has pulled the rug out from under those who argue against expanding NATO. The Poles, Czechs and Hungarians have been trying to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization since 1990. The West has put them off, usually with the excuse that Russia would be offended.

JANET BRUIN, Geneva.

Old Kentucky Home

Regarding the New York Times editorial "Among the Millionaires" (Aug. 23), Dogpatch, the mythical home of L. J. Abner of the comic strips, is in Kentucky, not in Arkansas. This confirms my fears about the teaching of geography in American schools.

RICHARD B. PARKER, Monterubbiano, Italy.

They Eat and Talk Together (How Odd!) but Think Apart

By Garrison Keillor

AALBORG, Denmark — I am of Scots-English ancestry, a breed as common as sparrows, but in America a man can always better himself through marriage and so, a few years ago I married a Dane.

I learned to speak Danish just well enough to get into trouble and I visit the motherland-in-law whenever possible and try to improve myself.

Denmark is a clean, well-regulated country populated by prosperous, literate people who all vote in elections, live in

the cause of death, which was suicide. My friends explain that Politiken would not report that fact, because it was a private matter.

I cannot believe that any newspaper in the free world would omit such a detail. "And everyone knows from the tabloids that she killed herself," I say.

"Yes, but Politiken is a decent newspaper," they say.

It is a question of order: The prime minister's privacy should be respected. This sense of decorum I find quaint, knowing how frank and honest Danes are. Conversation in America tends to be an exchange of pieties, but in Denmark you come to expect boldness.

When you ask someone, "How are you?" she tells you.

Everybody ought to have a Dane to have lunch with. They will listen to you and they will not judge you.

I go to lunch with a friend and conversation starts out in Danish. We talk small talk for a few minutes and then the Dane says, in English: "Your Danish is getting better all the time. You don't really have an American accent at all."

And then we switch to English and go into high gear.

You can talk about death, God, opera, politics, your kidneys, your taste in pornography, anything at all. You can say how boring Denmark is, what a bunch of arrogant drunks they are, how you really much prefer Sweden, and the Dane will not take it personally.

He or she will hear you out and politely tell you you are full of road apples.

The lunch over which this conversation takes place is almost always the same: herring on rye bread with a shot of aquavit, followed by fried fish and a slice of roast pork with a hard salty rind and a glass of beer, then a slice of blue cheese and coffee.

This sense of order is what makes freedom possible. There are 11 political parties in Denmark because there is only one way to eat lunch. You don't eat at your desk or as you drive; you don't walk down the street munching a hot dog. You eat at a table with a napkin and a knife and fork and candle.

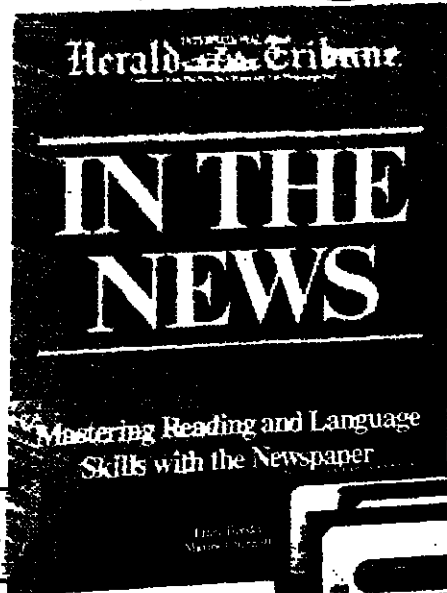
This gives you the freedom to be a Marxist, if you wish. Go ahead. Be as radical as you like. Your old aunts will still love you. But even as a Marxist, you have got to remember to send them a card on their birthdays.

Danes can be offended by neglect, by tardiness, by selfishness, but they are never personally offended by anything you say, so long as it's not about the queen. You should not say bad things about her. There are, after all, limits.

If there weren't limits to freedom, how would we know how free we are?

The writer is host of "American Radio Company" and author of "Lake Wobegon Days." He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

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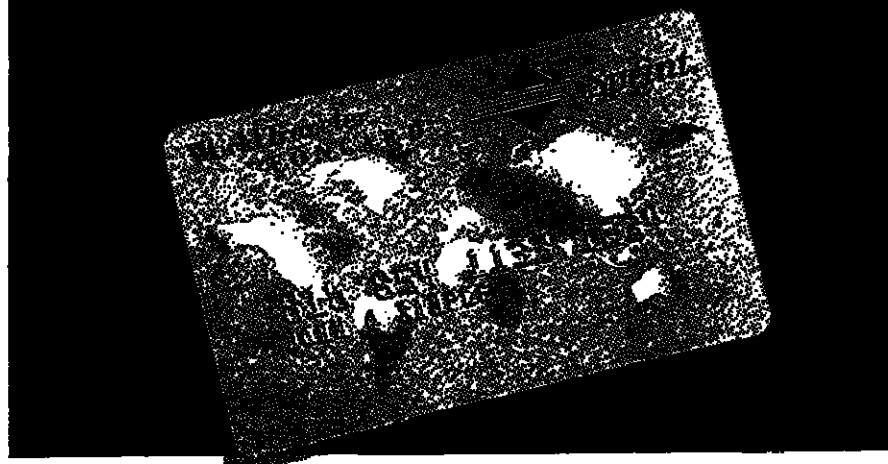
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# MIDEAST TALKS / WASHINGTON'S WORRY

## U.S. Worries That Deal Will Not Go Far Unless Assad Can Be Brought In

By Thomas L. Friedman  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Although the peace accord between Israel and the Palestinians appears to be moving ahead, American officials are worried that progress on this track cannot be sustained for long unless there is a breakthrough soon on the Syrian-Israeli track as well.

American officials say Syria is now their main preoccupation and main dilemma, as they try to promote the breakthrough for peace in the Middle East. They put it like this: If the Israelis don't offer the Syrians enough to bring them into serious negotiations over the Golan Heights, President Hafez Assad will almost certainly use his influence in the region and among the Palestinians to make life very difficult for Yasser Arafat.

Mr. Assad always believed that it was his birthright to play the Palestinian card in any peace talks with Israel, and although he has chosen for the moment not to block Mr. Arafat, he can use his Palestinian surrogates to do so any time he feels that he is being ignored.

But, U.S. and Israeli officials say, if the Syrians are brought in too quickly with an enticing Israeli offer to

withdraw from all or most of the Golan Heights, it could overload the circuits in Israel, as the fragile Labor government could find it very difficult to sell Israelis on the idea of installing Mr. Arafat in Jericho and Mr. Assad on the Golan, all at the same time.

American and Israeli officials are engaged in a balancing act with the Syrians, trying to create the impression, as well as the reality, that the two sides are narrowing differences on the Golan, in order to satisfy Mr. Assad, but without pushing too hard too quickly so that the Rabin government feels it has to ask the Israeli public to withdraw on two fronts in one week.

This explains the recent reports out of Israel suggesting that the Israeli government was prepared to grant the Syrians sovereignty over the Golan Heights, which were occupied by Israel during the 1967 war. Both U.S. and Israeli diplomats say those reports were premature and do not reflect the immediate intentions of the Rabin government, but their leak to the media is just the sort of carrot they hope will keep Syria at least neutral on the Israeli-PLO deal.

In reality, though, the Syrian and Israeli negotiators at

the Washington peace talks still have not cracked the main nut of their negotiations: How much peace is Syria really ready to give Israel, and how much land is Israel really ready to give Syria?

A senior Israeli official said that Mr. Rabin's real flexibility in dealing with Syria would depend in part on how the negotiations with the PLO proceeded. If establishment of Palestinian self-rule under Mr. Arafat in Gaza and Jericho goes relatively smoothly, and the PLO is able to maintain security in those areas, it will give Mr. Rabin a much stronger political base at home to sell a withdrawal on the Golan Heights to a still dubious Israeli public.

But even if the negotiations with the PLO collapse, Mr. Rabin will have an incentive to try to move ahead with Mr. Assad, says the Israeli official, since the raison d'être of the Rabin government is that it can bring peace with the Arabs; what Mr. Rabin can't get from Mr. Arafat he will try to get from Mr. Assad. The question is, will the Syrian leader wait that long?

The first foreign leader that the U.S. secretary of state, Warren M. Christopher, telephoned after Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of Israel informed him of the deal with

the PLO almost two weeks ago was Foreign Minister Farouk Shara of Syria. President Bill Clinton followed up with a letter to the Syrian president, and there have been dozens of lower-level contacts since.

So far this policy, coupled with pressures from Egypt and a visit to Damascus by Mr. Arafat, has been enough at least to keep the Syrians from standing in the way of a Palestinian-Israeli deal. Some Israeli officials believe that the best thing they have going for them now with Mr. Assad is his considerable diplomatic ego. They believe that the Syrian leader is so used to being at the center stage of the peace process, so used to everyone following after him, that for the moment he will let Mr. Arafat and the PLO go ahead with the Israelis — just so that he won't appear to be following in Mr. Arafat's footsteps.

"Assad would never want to be seen as following Arafat," an Israeli official said. "When he moves he wants to be the focus of all attention. It gives us some flexibility on the timetable with him."

American officials have been playing off the Arafat-Assad mutual paranoia for the past few months. When Mr. Christopher went to the Middle East in August he

visited Damascus, then Israel, and then deliberately back to Damascus to see Mr. Assad a second time — even though he had nothing more to say — just to provoke Mr. Arafat into thinking that the Syrians and the Israelis were cooking something up and that he had better get moving. It was Mr. Arafat's nervousness over just such a deal that contributed to his own lurch forward with the Israelis.

When Mr. Assad moves, American officials expect he will want to use Secretary Christopher as his intermediary to ensure that he is rewarded both by Washington and Israel for any flexibility he manifests toward Israel.

In the meantime, state-run Syrian news organizations have praised Israel for its "seriousness" in the peace talks, and President Assad has said it is for the Palestinians to decide their own fate — not exactly a ringing endorsement of the deal with Israel but enough for Mr. Arafat to proceed for now.

At the same time, though, Ahmed Jibril of the Syrian-controlled Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command has threatened Mr. Arafat with assassination. Just a little reminder from Damascus that all of its options are still open.



Palestinians biking in the Shati refugee camp, where conditions could improve under the plan.

### One Nation, 2 World Views

In Israeli Debate, Central Questions Are About Power

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Service

JERUSALEM — Twenty-five years after conquering the West Bank and Gaza Strip in the 1967 war, Israel is being torn between two diametrically opposed world views as a national debate erupts on the peace agreement to transfer the captured territories to Palestinian control.

One view, articulated by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, holds that Israel has learned the limits of power over the last quarter-century and is strong enough to make concessions, giving Palestinians control over the lands, even if the price is making peace with an enemy such as Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The other view, a legacy of the Likud leaders Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir but articulated now by Benjamin Netanyahu, is that Israel remains vulnerable to annihilation, and only a firm grasp on all the lands captured in 1967 will protect the country from a new rain of rockets on its civilian cities, or a new wave of violence against Jewish settlements.

On bumper stickers and radio talk shows, in mass rallies and in the parliament, these two potent arguments are raging at the Israeli consciousness. The outcome of the debate could provide an important clue to whether Israel is prepared to make further concessions for peace agreements with its enemies, or whether it remains seized by a sense of its own vulnerability.

Mr. Rabin, chief of staff in the 1967 war, speaking to Labor members of parliament last week, reproached critics who warned of a military threat from Palestinian self-rule in Gaza and Jericho. The Palestinians, he said, are not an existential threat to the state, and critics who say otherwise are "insulting the army."

"This is the proud, self-disciplined, risk-taking Israeli," said Yaron Ezrahi, one of Israel's leading political scientists. Mr. Rabin, he added, is a reflection of a world view that "we are confident enough in ourselves, we feel sufficiently at home in this region, to deal with the problems and the people around here."

Mr. Ezrahi said the decision to initial the document in Norway on Aug. 20 that would transfer authority swifly for Gaza and Jericho to the Palestinians was the culmination of "25 years of an increasingly sobering realization on the part of Israelis of the limits of power, and of the reality of the Palestinian nation in our midst."

After the euphoria that followed the spectacular 1967 victory, Mr. Ezrahi said, the 1973 Arab-Israeli war "was the first blow to the myth of Israeli invincibility."

"The Lebanese War showed the Israeli public will not back a government which uses Israeli military force for goals beyond the most strictly defined necessity of defense. And the intifada demonstrated the reality of a Palestinian nation."

The 1991 Gulf War, too, "was a psychological trauma," he said. "What you see is a gradual but decisive process of realizing the limits of power."

"After the Gulf War we had a process of profound transformation in Israel, discrediting military measures and a decisive shift to diplomacy," Mr. Ezrahi added. "The deepest urge of Israelis is to test the road that leads to stability and coexistence, to test it under the leadership of the prime minister who actually delivered these territories in 1967. Rabin is almost the only person who can do that. He is Mr. Security."

"The man understands that security does not live by controlling the territories," he said.

For more than 15 years, Mr. Begin and Mr. Shamir and their supporters pushed hard to secure Israel's claim to the West Bank, saying it was vital to security and fulfilling a Biblical claim to the lands. Some messianic Jews said the territories were part of a "Greater Israel" of which not an inch could be relinquished.

But since taking office last year, Mr. Rabin has gradually tried to erode the legitimacy of the Jewish settlers in the territories. He criticized "political" settlements in the West Bank, cut government subsidies and construction there, and this year imposed a highly popular closure of the territories, which underscored the desire of many Israelis to be apart from them altogether.

The new peace agreement was the latest and most powerful move away from the earlier Likud ideology. For the first time, Israel reached a tentative agreement to begin transferring control for some of these captured lands to the Palestinians.

Ironically, the underlying basis for the agreement was the Camp David accord of 1979, which Mr. Begin had negotiated. He had originally advanced the idea of limited "autonomy" for Palestinians.

But the new agreement, with an accelerated timetable for Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho, and wider Palestinian jurisdiction, as well as acknowledgment of the Palestine Liberation Organization as a partner, took the rightists totally by surprise. Bobi Lang, a spokesman for the Jewish settlers, said it was the "atom bomb" of announcements, which would have "the greatest impact on the country since the 1967 war."

Mr. Netanyahu, who was a spokesman for the Shamir government during the Gulf War, has scrambled in recent days to launch a counterattack, sharply criticizing the accord as a danger to Israeli security. But the right has appeared to be shell-shocked and in disarray. One reason is that many hard-liners have also called for Israel to pull out of Gaza, a position that is highly popular in Israel and is central to Mr. Rabin's plan.

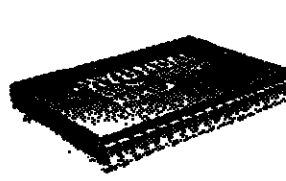
"One of the problems of the national camp is they have never come out with a clear, coherent peace plan," said Mr. Lang. "They have said no, no no — but what do you say yes to? We're not really sure. People want to hear yes — they want peace."

Mr. Netanyahu, in an interview, described the world view of Israel as a still vulnerable nation that he said would be jeopardized by a Palestinian state. Israel, he said, is imperiled by "moving from a position of relative strength to a position of extreme vulnerability."

By capturing the West Bank, Mr. Netanyahu said, Israel made itself "impregnable" to attack from the East, and persuaded Arab states to come to the peace talks. But now, he added, "the government is going to hand off, going to give up the very real estate that has made this movement toward peace possible." He said the PLO would conclude that "it is just a matter of time before this reduced, truncated and dwarfed Israel can be done away with altogether."

Mr. Arafat will establish a Palestinian state, he predicted, and then topple the monarchy of King Hussein, creating a Palestinian nation four times larger than Israel. After that, he warned, "you have to assume the high ground of the West Bank could be flooded by PLO fighters holding hand-held rockets that could neutralize a good portion of the Israeli Air Force."

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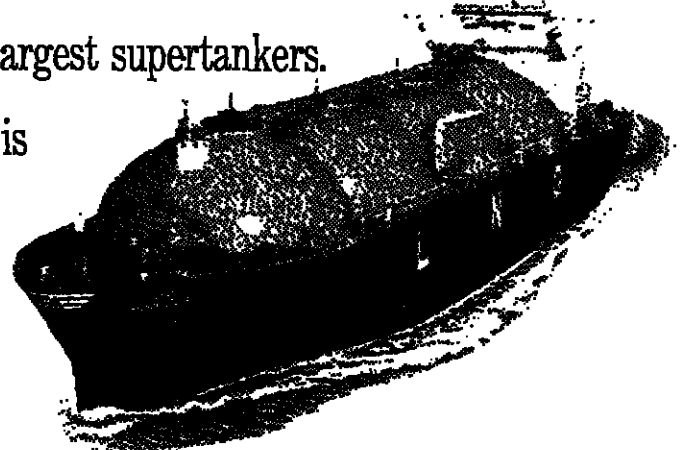
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سكوا من الاصل



# Style

## The Hemline Debate: Selling Women Short?

By Suzy Menkes  
International Herald Tribune

**P**ARIS — The skirt safely grazes the knee. The suit is classic — something your mother or your grandmother might wear. We are looking at the fall fashion windows at Chanel, whose buttock-skimming hemlines on leggy supermodels caused a ruckus just six weeks ago in July. "Short is back!" screamed the

headlines after the couture showings, which contradicted the mid-calf lengths predicted by the selfsame designers in their ready-to-wear lines, shown in March.

The only thing that seems certain about current fashion is its confusion. Magazines, which went to Karl Lagerfeld took his scissors to the Chanel skirts, are desperately trying to cover both knees and options, with photographs of long skirts and a last-

minute short story. In the shops, as opposed to on the runways, hemlines often hover in the middle — or skirts are swapped for pants.

American designers and stores are especially enthusiastic about short (Uptown ladies bought only a token long skirt). Oscar de la Renta's Balmain couture hiked hemlines: Bloomingdale's has backed short; and Susan Falk, Henri Bendel's president, has said the store will promote only short skirts.

It is all terribly reminiscent of the move from the 1960s miniskirt to the long and layered hippie look. Even the cast is the same. In the 1970s, Women's Wear Daily backed the "longette" and the "midi," which flopped. Now WWD, having pushed long last year, is trumpeting the short skirt's comeback.

Significantly, smaller retailers with a clear eye and strong individual taste, are ignoring the hemline issue. Joseph Eitzel, who opens a new Joseph store on Avenue Montaigne next month, says he believes in choice.

"When something looks good long, it's great — it's a question of timing and occasion," he says. "I'm always debating. In spring, I like to start with long and fluid, but then with Azzedine [Alaia] short is sexy and long doesn't work so well. It is more about the spirit of the person."

The spurious debate about hemlines sells intelligent women short. Only the most insecure consumer is incapable of choosing a look that suits her limbs and her lifestyle. Some older women may cling to short hemlines because they believe them youthful. But there is no denying the change sweeping through fashion, where the issue is not so much length, as a softening and blurring of the silhouette.

The fall season coincides with the first shoots of spring: the women's prêt-à-porter and the men's SEHM (Salon International de l'Habillement Masculin), held simultaneously last weekend at the Porte de Versailles exhibition center.

For both sexes, but especially for women, there is a rush toward knitwear, which offers softness in a wearable way. There is also a strong feeling for ecology in natural yarns and straw-beige colors. In retreat are tight stretchy clothes, gaudy scarf prints, firmly tailored jackets and short hemlines. To the fore are fluid long dresses, lace knits, cardigans and tunics layered over pants.

Both exhibitions now have sec-

tions devoted to designers with a strong sense of direction. At SEHM, the British dominate the "Nouvel Espace" area. At the prêt-à-porter show, the "Atmosphere" section also has many British designers. Sara Sturgeon, describing her collection as "long with interest, and lots of pants" showed apron-wrap dresses, some cut all-in-one with pants. John Rocha, a Chinese designer working out of Ireland, had knitwear, crochet and linen in natural colors and hand-crochet with Celtic symbols. Red or Dead, whose footwear started the cult of the heavy shoe and platform soles in London's Camden area a decade ago, had rough-woven hop-sack and raffia sandals. Its designers are also doing the Dr. Martens clothing line shown at SEHM.

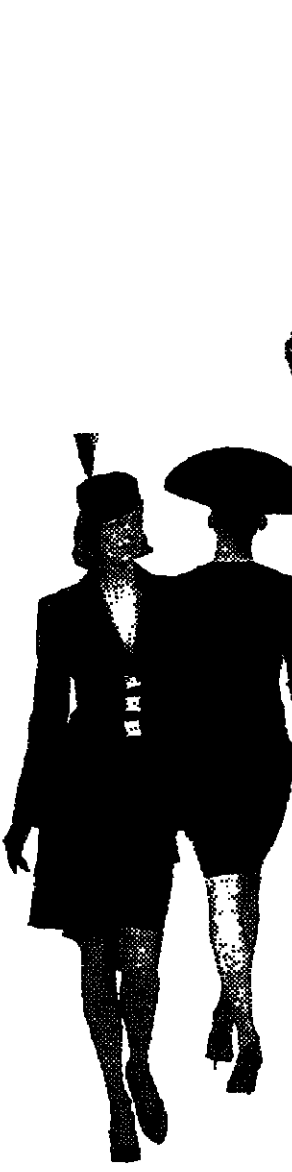
Among the French designers, Irena Gregori, who has opened a new boutique on Rue du Bac, had fluid dresses in viscose. The same material in knit, used in different densities according to the area of the body, was used by the Mariot Chanet team to give a subtle twist to transparency — not much on show this season. Bucking the beige trend, bright blocks of color were shown by Jean-Charles de Castelbajac, who will take over as couturier at Courrèges.

Jean-Paul Gaultier's junior line had the dress of the season: an apron style that wrapped round in various ways. As with so much of the new fashion, you bring a good body and make how to wear the clothes a personal choice.

"It is more interesting for me to give a spirit than to create a new silhouette," said Corinne Cobson, showing fluid knits and pale crepe dresses, dominated by a pale sky blue. "Fashion is in mutation, which it hasn't been for 20 years. It is becoming more intellectual and spiritual."

The problem for the stores is to translate the new spirit into sales. The early signs, as Paris gets back after the summer break, is that knits, at least, are selling.

Gérard Rouline, who heads the Fédération Française du Prêt-à-Porter Féminin, is bullish about the French fashion industry, although the figures he presented at the salon opened showed that sales were down 1.1 percent for the first three months of 1993 from the previous year. Exports dropped 2.6 percent between April 1992 and March 1993. But the marked decrease in sales of French fashion to the United States (down 14 percent) was balanced by a 23 percent rise in Southeast Asia, where Rouline sees future growth.



Oscar de la Renta's long hems for Balmain's fall/winter ready-to-wear, at right, were chopped short for couture.



Model/Thomas



Sara Sturgeon's long fluid dress for summer 1994



Model/Thomas

Karl Lagerfeld's micromini skirt for Chanel

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## Women's Work: The Exhibition

Washington Post Service  
**N**EW YORK — Women's work is: (a) undervalued; (b) underpaid; (c) defined by the very concept of "women's work" and the tools used to accomplish it.

If you checked all of the above, while for good measure adding the familiar (d) "never done," you would come close to encompassing the themes of "Mechanical Brides: Women and Machines From Home to Office," an exhibition now on view here at the Cooper-Hewitt Museum through Jan. 2. Forthrightly feminist in its preoccupations, the exhibition is at once provocative and predictable, preachy and percipient. It's a busy collage of mechanical implements — the featured

four are telephones, irons, washing machines and typewriters — shown in the context of the advertisements intended not only to sell them but to transform them into objects of desire, social liberation and uplift.

The exhibition purports to cover the late 19th century to the present, and it does so in a cursory way. But the chronological heart of the show, measured in number of objects and the sheer energy of their presentation, is the mid-20th century. This is when "appliance ownership became the standard to which most Americans aspired," and when manufacturers and their advertising agencies perfected the pitch equating appliances with the standard image of domestic bliss. — "the white, middle-class fami-

ly . . . of stay-at-home mothers and employed fathers."

The pervasiveness of this ideal now seems astonishing. The picture is repeated in here in almost countless variations — the mom, or wife or possibly future bride going about her designated labor with idealized, not to say mindless, contentment. Conceptually, this is familiar, politically correct territory, the feminist version of the postwar consumer economy. And, as far as it goes in this exhibition, the interpretation is insightful and, mostly, correct.

What is fresh, in a museological sense, is the direct linking of authentic objects with their period ideological context, with the omnipresent messages telling which

tasks which gender is supposed to perform — and with which tools — in order to pursue happiness, American style.

The show's final section demonstrates how the concept of "women's work" followed females as they entered the white-collar work force in increasing numbers.

The moral point is that negative valuation of "women's work" — the kind of labor everybody wants somebody else to do — should have no place in the American equation. It's as Ellen Lupton, the curator who conceived and organized the show, said in a short video presentation: "What we want to do in this exhibition is to celebrate the value of this work."

## STYLE MAKERS

### Artists' Models

UNSUNG, UNDERPAID

New York Times Service

**I**N A WORLD overrun by role models and supermodels, life models — men and women who pose in the nude for artists — seem archaic, relics of a bygone age when art students labored amid skeletons and anatomical charts, learning to draw the human body as painstakingly as medical students learn to dissect it.

Then, as now, life models were unsung and underpaid. The going rate today is \$8 to \$10 an hour. Nonetheless, like waiters, these models are something New York never runs out of. The Art Students League alone turns away 25 to 30 applicants a month.

Although the job is fundamentally humble and anonymous, many people find it rewarding.

One such person is Robert Speller, one of New York's leading male life models. Both as a model and as the model coordinator for the Parsons School of Design and the New School, he has been at the center of New York's life-modeling world for 25 years.

A short, handsome man who

seems always to be in motion, Speller, who is in his early 50s, is almost compulsively loquacious. Yet several times a week, for up to three and a half hours at a stretch, he is not only silent, but utterly still as well, posing in the nude for groups of artists around the city.

On a recent evening at the Selma-gard Club, an arts club in Greenwich Village, Speller posed for about 20 artists. Like most life-modeling sessions, this one began with short poses, bold, action-oriented poses of the sort that might put the model in the hospital if he had to hold them for more than a minute or two.

Almost all of the poses Speller adopted were difficult, setting up (at least for the beginning artist) daunting problems of perspective and foreshortening. One pose found Speller spread-eagled on the dais, his legs stretched uncomfortably apart, his torso and head twisted to face behind him. Leaning on his left elbow to avoid toppling over, he kept his right arm raised above his head. He also kept perfectly still. Sketching furiously, the artists had only enough time to capture a gesture, a sense of movement. Then an electronic timer chirruped, and Speller quickly moved into a new pose, rearranging his limbs with the practiced ease of a contortionist.

There is a narrative to a life-modeling session. It begins with youthful bravura changes on a single theme — the body — while the artists struggle to keep up. Then comes middle age: the poses become longer, more cautious, stiffer. The artists begin to master the model, grow familiar with his mannerisms, his features. Finally there is old age, when the poses reach maximum length and the model hardly seems to move at all; He has been transformed into a statue. For

the artists, he has become something fixed and knowable.

Speller, who was born into an artistic family, was a child performer and attributes his success as a model to his training as a dancer and choreographer. But he warned that modeling "is the very worst thing for a dancer."

"The body is meant to move; it's meant to be fluid," he said. "But when you model, you freeze the body; you stop the natural flow." For those who model too much, the results can include pinched nerves, numbness and spinal injuries.

At its best, he said, a life-drawing session is like "improvisational theater, where the model is the performer and the artists are the participating audience."

**S**INCE 1972, Speller has earned his living by hooking models for classes. He is popular among the models and over the years he has dealt with thousands of them, including Madonna, then an unknown, for whom he found work at Parsons in 1979. He is also known for his generosity, taking care of models when they are sick and juggling schedules for them when they are broke.

One of the models who started with Speller is Alexandra Rheaull. With a face that might have been created by an Art Deco Modigliani, and a body whose bold curves and abrupt angles combine in startling ways, Rheaull, 30, brings as much enthusiasm to the modeling stand as she does to her own endeavors as an artist.

Her pleasure in her work is infectious. To see her crouched on the edge of a stool, head forward, arms flung back, like an Olympic swimmer poised to dive at the start of a race, is enough to dispel for good any notion that life modeling is an antiquated profession.

Rheaull said modeling was far more demanding physically than people might think. "It's very isometric exercise, and you do work up a sweat," she said. "People think you're just sitting there, but you're really working your muscles and you can feel it."

If there is a pinnacle of a life modeler's career, it is probably to work for a famous artist. Most models, no matter how many times they are painted, sculptured or drawn, will never have the satisfaction of seeing their images in the pages of a book or on the walls of a museum.

One model who has been lucky enough to do so is Jerilyn Jurinek. In 1972, when she was in her 20s, she was asked to pose for the figurative painter Philip Pearlstein.

"I didn't know that Philip would take months to complete the painting," Jurinek said, "and I kept waiting for the thing to end. I assumed that when the painting was done the job would be over. But when the painting was finished, he just took out a canvas and started a new one."

Jurinek ended up modeling for Pearlstein for 10 years. A pale, thoughtful woman in her 40s, Jurinek, too, is a painter as well as a model. Painting, she said, is solitary, while modeling allows her to be involved in art in a communal way.

"It's very hard for artists to do things together in a noncompetitive atmosphere," she said. "Modeling is a way of doing that. It feels meaningful. It feels like useful work."

Brendan Bernhard

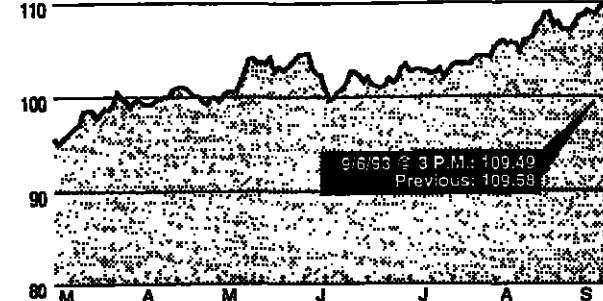
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## THE TRIB INDEX: 109.49



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Region	Approx. weighting	Approx. weight	Approx. weight		
Asia/Pacific	25%	Europe	40%	N. America	35%

Industrial Sectors	Mon. @ 3 P.M.	Per. change	Mon. @ 3 P.M.	Per. change	
Energy	107.33	+0.01	Capital Goods	105.00	+0.28
Utilities	115.42	+0.40	Raw Materials	107.08	-0.04
Finance	120.77	-0.32	Consumer Goods	91.26	-0.12
Services	118.00	+0.07	Miscellaneous	110.32	-0.14

For readers desiring more information about the International Herald Tribune World Stock Index, a booklet is available free of charge by writing to: Trib Index, 181 Avenue Charles de Gaulle, 92251 Neuilly Cedex, France.

## China's Trains Fail to Keep Pace Stockpiled Coal Burns as Coastal Economy Sizzles

By Kevin Murphy  
International Herald Tribune

GUANGZHOU — Power stations in China's booming coastal provinces often run short of fuel while, further inland, coal piles self-ignite during long waits for overdue freight trains, a sure sign that the country's railway system cannot keep up with its rapid economic growth.

Such frustrations have driven party cadres to tears (literally) and provoked planners to consider money-raising tactics from naming trains after noble brands to offering equity in new projects to foreign investors.

With more track to lay than yuan in the bank, China's railway planners are searching to raise funds in new ways. They need to loosen bottlenecks that cost up to 20 billion yuan (\$3.47 billion) in lost production last year and that are likely to worsen. But unless greater profitability becomes part of the pitch, according to foreign bankers and Guangzhou Railway Group Corp., overseers of railway operations throughout Hainan, Guangdong and Hunan provinces, overseas funds will back other infrastructure areas instead.

"We greatly lack capital," said Zhang Ziwei, planning chief at Guangzhou Railway Group, which plans to construct more than 1,000 kilometers (620 miles) of railways in the three provinces and upgrade an additional 1,700 kilometers into advanced electrified lines within seven years.

"The central government has examined the problem and given us some flexibility to attract private investment," said Mr. Zhang. "There will be very large changes in prices

and management systems in the future, and we are interested in offering equity in new projects."

"If they do what they say, we'll be very interested in talking to them," said the Hong Kong based head of an international engineering company. "But we have serious questions about the risk and rate of return on such projects. Can they generate the foreign exchange to make it worth our while to get involved?"

China's masses and three quarters of its freight travel by rail on a heavily subsidized

One tactic to raise expansion funds is to name trains for advertisers.

system consistently failing to meet demands imposed by economic growth that hit 14 percent in the first half of 1993.

According to a recent World Bank study, Beijing invested only 1.4 percent of its gross domestic product in transport services from 1981 to 1990, during China's sixth and seventh five-year plans.

This compared with an average of 2.5 percent to 2.8 percent in other developing countries and up to 4 percent in industrial countries.

China's lack of investment has been exacerbated by runaway economic growth in

coastal provinces starved for raw materials and coal for energy production.

Last year, Railways Minister Li Senmao said the entire rail system was capable of supplying only 60 percent of China's cargo-shipping needs. The situation has deteriorated since then.

Upcountry raw material stockpiles reach Himalayan proportions, yet some factories on the coast prefer to import their requirements to guarantee regular delivery. Passenger trains are regularly double-booked with newly wealthy travellers and peasants streaming into boom areas looking for work.

During its eighth five-year plan, China aims to build 6,600 kilometers of new line, double-track a further 4,100 kilometers and electify 5,600 kilometers. It also plans high-speed rail lines and wants to upgrade rolling stock, communications and freight management systems.

With funds increasingly scarce, China's railway administrators have been forced to become as entrepreneurial as the roving gangs of thieves stealing rails and bolts for sale to mobile "recycling stations," which create further delays and safety problems.

A Beijing macaroni maker recently paid the railway administration 500,000 yuan to rename an express train running 1,118 kilometers between Beijing and Tianjing after its flour products, following an example set by the Wuliangye Liquor tourism express running between Chongqing and Emei Mountain in Sichuan Province.

Advertising in China is expanding quickly. But planners know selling the naming rights

## A Complex Web Will Link Volvo And Renault

By Alan Riding  
New York Times Service

PARIS — Renault of France and Volvo of Sweden announced Monday that they would merge on Jan. 1 to form the world's sixth-largest automotive concern, a move to improve their competitive stance ahead of the full opening of the European market to Japanese cars.

The announcement came as a cliff-top of complex negotiations that concluded Friday.

In addition to preparing the companies for the lifting of all restrictions on Japanese auto sales inside the European Community in 1999, the combination is aimed at allowing the two carmakers to weather the recession buffeting the European automobile industry.

To be known as Renault-Volvo RVA, the new company will be owned 65 percent by Renault and 35 percent by Volvo until Renault is partly privatized, perhaps as early as next year. In 1992, the two companies produced a total of 2.45 million vehicles and had combined sales of around 240 billion francs (\$41.5 billion).

The merged companies will market cars and other vehicles under the Renault and Volvo brand names, but they will merge research, planning, production and distribution as well as their corporate structures. They predict that this will result in \$5.2 billion worth of savings by the year 2000.

"The engagement was long and well thought out," France's industry minister, Gerard Longuet, said Monday, referring to the Renault-Volvo "alliance" that began in 1991. "And I think it will lead to a successful marriage, a genuine marriage of complete cooperation."

For Sweden, the marriage is perhaps more painful since Volvo has long been a symbol of the country's industrial prowess. But the merger marks a step in Sweden's gradual economic integration with the Community, which it hopes to join as a full member in 1995.

Measured by its 1992 sales, the new concern will rank globally after General Motors Corp., Ford Motor Co., Toyota Motor Corp., Nissan Motor Co. and Volkswagen AG.

The new concern's main focus will be on the competitive European auto market, where between January and August this year sales were 16.7 percent below those of the year-earlier period.

Last weekend, under pressure from European manufacturers, Japan agreed to lower its exports of cars and light trucks to the Community in 1993, this time to 980,000 units, 18.5 percent lower than in 1992. But the EC is already committed to removing controls on Japanese car sales in Europe from 1999.

Renault is one of the few healthy European automakers, recovering from a crisis that prompted a government bailout in 1986 to earn profit of around \$1 billion on revenue of \$26.7 billion in 1992. Volvo, in contrast, showed a loss of \$435 million on revenue of \$10.87 billion last year, although it earned \$5.6 million during the first half of 1993.

Mr. Longuet presided over Monday's news conference announcing the merger because the French state owns 100 percent of Renault. But he also used the occasion to confirm that Renault was one of 21 state-owned companies marked for privatization by France's conservative government.

Asked when this privatization could take place, Mr. Longuet said it would depend on market conditions. "It's difficult to imagine it can happen before the second half of 1994," he said.

Much of the negotiation between Renault's chairman, Louis Schweitzer, and Volvo's chairman, Pehr Gyllenhammar, revolved around creating a corporate structure for the new entity that anticipates Renault's privatization and ensures

## China Makes New Bid to Curb Inflation

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BELING — China announced on Monday measures aimed at curbing soaring investment in fixed assets, the main cause of inflation and instability in the economy.

National newspapers published an order from the State Council listing seven measures to better regulate investment in fixed assets and try to ensure that money is spent where the government wants it.

Such investment soared by 70 percent in the first seven months of 1993, driving up prices of raw materials and helping to keep the ur-

ban inflation rate in July at 23.3 percent.

The State Council ordered all localities and departments to reassess all their projects and only go ahead with those that were efficient.

Projects without necessary capital, that do not match national policy or have no clear market, especially high-class hotels, offices and villas, must be rigorously reassessed, the council said.

It said that funds, including foreign loans and those saved from suspended projects, must be concentrated on priority state projects

such as agriculture, transport, telecommunications, power and production of raw materials.

In principle, no new projects should be approved in the second half of the current year, and banks will not tend to real estate projects that do not have official approval, it said.

In addition, China has ordered price freezes on commodities and services subsidized by the state for the remainder of the year, the China Daily reported on Monday.

The cabinet also ordered local governments to prevent prices for

vegetables and nonstaple foods that are sold on the free market from soaring.

One provision calls for price controls on all remaining state-controlled goods and services, excluding electricity and railway cargo transport.

The measures are the latest in a series since a 16-point plan unveiled in early July by Deputy Prime Minister Zhu Rongji, who had just taken over as chief of the central bank, aimed at cooling the overheated economy.

(Reuters, AP)

## INTERNATIONAL STOCKS

### Foreign Buyers Jolt Spain From Its Summer Siesta

By Ana Westley  
New York Times Service

MADRID — August is the month when stockbrokers in Spain usually take vacations and politics come to a near standstill. Last month, however, traders rushed back from beaches to cash in on an unprecedented rally as the Madrid stock exchange index set new records.

Spurred by expectations of lower interest rates as well as by frenzied foreign investment, the Madrid index topped 304 points by the end of August and rose near the 1990 pre-Gulf War level of 312 on several volatile days. The index was just 369.96 at the end of July.

Despite expected profit-taking, which pushed the index back down to 291.21 on Monday, some analysts have predicted the market may approach its September 1989 record of 328.5 points within a few months.

Most analysts favor blue-chip issues such as banks, construction companies and electric utilities, as well as the state-controlled petrochemical company, Repsol SA, and the state telephone monopoly, Telefonos de Espana SA.

Since the beginning of the year, the Madrid index has climbed more than 40 percent, surging 12.3 percent in August alone. A record 500 billion pesetas (\$3.7 billion) were traded last month, with 55 billion pesetas traded on Aug. 31.

"This is incredible," gushed Fernando Canales, an official of the Madrid bourse. He noted that trading in August 1992 was less than 160 billion pesetas. "Last year in August, 5 to 7 billion pesetas a day was considered brisk," Mr. Canales said. "Now we are averaging 23 billion pesetas daily."

Never mind that Spain's economy is in recession, with the gross domestic product shrinking by 1 percent during the last year and with corporate profits falling.

"Despite profit-taking, I am convinced we are beginning a new cycle," said Jaime Smith, a trader at Benito y Monjardin. He estimated annual index increases of about 25 percent for the next few years.

Most traders and analysts attribute the euphoria almost entirely to expected cuts in Bank of Spain interest rates, which were sliced a half point Friday, to 10 percent, and to foreign investors who have discovered that Madrid's market, compared with other European markets, is a bargain basement after three currency devaluations this year.

Now, the heartless speculators of yore are being hailed as

See MADRID, Page 12

## The French Brandish Farm Veto

PARIS — France stepped up a war of nerves over the GATT world trade negotiations on Monday by reviving its threat to veto a farm trade deal between the European Community and the United States unless it obtained better terms.

It was the first time for months that Paris had talked of a possible veto, apparently to increase pressure on Germany to accept French demands for a revision of the so-called Blair House accord that would slash subsidized agricultural exports.

An official in Prime Minister Edouard Balladur's office said: "France will not give in out of battle fatigue. If time goes by without results, France will go as far as a veto."

Mr. Balladur is to meet the director-general of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, Peter Sutherland, this week ahead of a crucial meeting of EC farm and foreign ministers on the issue on Sept. 20.

Officials say an overall GATT pact to liberalize world trade hinges on the U.S.-EC farm accord. Mr. Sutherland has made Dec. 15 the deadline for the seven-year-old Uruguay Round of GATT talks.

Last week the GATT chief said there was not enough time to tamper with the Blair House deal and still finish on time.

## Mediobanca Plans Big Rights Issue

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

MILAN — Mediobanca SpA announced Monday a 1.02 trillion lire (\$640 million) cash offer, comprising the Milan stock market and creating expectations that its share price would suffer.

The secretive Italian merchant bank did not say what it would use the funds for.

The bank will make a rights issue, giving holders of 10 shares one free share and the right to buy three new ones at a price of 10,000 lire each. Mediobanca shares closed Monday at 17,350 lire, down 350 lire.

Mediobanca also said that its net profit in its fiscal year ended June 30 slipped 24 percent, to 200.1 billion lire, from 262.1 billion lire a year earlier. The bank did not provide an explanation for the drop, but it did say writedowns and reserves for bad loans jumped to 275.2 billion lire from 153.1 billion lire last year.

The Mediobanca announcement came in a market that had been under pressure all day from talk of a capital increase by Fiat SpA.

"The market is edgy, the operation looks expensive and we don't know what the money is to be used for," said one trader with SIM Europa SpA, a Milan brokerage.

"If they give some focused explanation about what they want to do when the market reopens tomorrow, the share need not do too badly," said Giuseppe Bonini, head of trading at Interim SpA, a large Milan brokerage.

Mr. Bonini said the large cash call was probably aimed at building

"Quadratus". A solid gold watch with the dial engraved in the "Clou de Paris" pattern.

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### CURRENCY & INTEREST RATES

Cross Rates	Sept. 6	Eurocurrency Deposits	Sept. 6
Amsterdam	1.602 2776	Dollar	1.000 0.00
Bremen	25.3 5485	D-Mark	1.936 0.00
Frankfurt	1.612 2475	Franc	1.666 0.00
London	1.530	Sterling	1.493 0.00
Madrid	163.26 325.26	Yen	163.26 325.26
Milan	1.621 2433.9	Yen	163.26 325.26
New York	1.585 2725	Yen	163.26 325.26
Paris	1.602 2776	Yen	163.26 325.26
Tokyo	1.602 2776	Yen	163.26 325.26
Zurich	1.602 2776	Yen	163.26 325.26

Key Money Rates	Sept. 6
Discount rate	5.00
Prime rate	6.00
3-month T-bill	5.75
6-month T-bill	5.75
9-month T-bill	5.75
1-year T-bill	5.75
3-month Treasury bill	5.75
6-month Treasury bill	5.75
9-month Treasury bill	5.75
1-year Treasury bill	5.75
3-month Treasury note	5.75
6-month Treasury note	5.75
9-month Treasury note	5.75
1-year Treasury note	5.75
3-month Treasury bond	5.75
6-month Treasury bond	5.75
9-month Treasury bond	5.75
1-year Treasury bond	5.75

Other Dollar Values	Sept. 3
Contract	1.464 1.481
Arrest. asso	0.9901
Australia	1.5451
Canada	1.3375
China	8.2756
Denmark	1.3676
France	1.6663
Germany	1.9363
Italy	1.9363
Japan	163.26
South Africa	1.5000
Sweden	1.4603
Switzerland	1.6003
UK	1.4936
US	1.0000

Forward Rates	Sept. 3
30-day	1.464 1.481
60-day	1.464 1.481
90-day	1.464 1.481
180-day	1.464 1.481
360-day	1.464 1.481

Gold	A.M.	P.M.	Oct. 1992
Zurich	344.65	344.40	1.15
London	344.25	344.25	1.15
New York	344.25	344.25	1.15
U.S. dollars per ounce	344.25	344.25	1.15
U.S. dollars per ounce	344.25	344.25	1.15
U.S. dollars per ounce	344.25	344.25	1.15
U.S. dollars per ounce	344.25	344.25	1.15
U.S. dollars per ounce	344.25	344.25	1.15
U.S. dollars per ounce	344.25	344.25	1.15

هكذا من الأصل











# SPORTS BASEBALL

## Toronto, With Loss, Falls Into AL East Tie as NL West Race Tightens

### Angels Beat Blue Jays, 5-1, Orioles Only 2 1/2 Games Out

*The Associated Press*  
It's a three-team race again in the American League East.  
The Toronto Blue Jays dropped into a first-place tie with the New York Yankees when California rookie Phil Leftrich pitched a six-hitter Sunday to beat the visiting Blue Jays, 5-1.  
And the Baltimore Orioles, considered dead a week ago, finished

Chili Davis's homer, his 20th, made it 3-0 in the fifth, and his run-scoring single with one out in the seventh chased Hentgen and made it a 4-0 lead. Mark Eichhorn entered and allowed a sacrifice fly to Perez.  
Davis's two RBIs gave him 93 for the season, matching his career high posted in both 1988 and 1991. Davis's single in the seventh scored Chad Curtis, who had singled to extend his hitting streak to 18 games.

Earlier in the day, the Yankees, still buzzing over Jim Abbott's no-hitter game before, scored four runs in the first inning and went on to beat Cleveland, 7-2.

Mike Stanley hit a two-run homer in the opening inning and Randy Velarde's two-run homer made it 6-1 in the second.  
Orioles 9, Athletics 2: In Oakland, home runs by Brady Anderson and Chris Hoiles helped Baltimore win its seventh straight.

Mike Mussina got the victory for the Orioles, who swept the A's in the three-game series. He pitched eight innings, allowing two runs on five hits and two walks while striking out seven.

Leftrich, making his eighth start since joining the rotation on July 29, walked two and struck out five. Toronto's only run came on a single by John Olerud in the ninth.

The Angels bunched five soft singles in the second inning to get a 2-0 lead off Pat Hantgen.  
A checked swing by rookie Chris Turner produced an opposite-field bloop single that scored Eduardo Perez from third base. Rod Corrao then singled in Torey Lovullo.

#### AL ROUNDUP

6-0 at California and Oakland and were only 2 1/2 games behind Toronto and New York on Monday.

The Angels swept the three-game series against the Blue Jays, who struggled on their West Coast trip, going 4-6 at Seattle, Oakland and Anaheim.

"You can't get frustrated about who beats you," said the Blue Jays' second baseman, Roberto Alomar. "They're a big-league team. They're trying to win. There's nobody to blame."

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A stealing Luis Polonia was tagged out by second baseman Roberto Alomar, but it was the Blue Jays who took the fall in California.

### Giants' 7-6 Defeat by Cards Puts Braves Just 2 1/2 Behind

*The Associated Press*  
The San Francisco Giants are really starting to feel the pressure now.

Their once-commanding lead over the Atlanta Braves in the National League West was cut to 2 1/2 games on Sunday as Tom Pagnozzi's ninth-inning single off Rod Beck gave the Cardinals a 7-6 victory over the Giants in St. Louis.  
David Justice's two-run homer in the eighth inning had rallied the Braves to a 3-2 victory over San Diego earlier in the day.

"In the back of your mind, no matter what inning it is, you figure they have a chance to win," Beck said of the Braves. "The Braves are just playing outstanding baseball. What are you going to do?"

The Giants blew a three-run lead in losing and their starter, Bill Swift, failed in his fourth attempt to win No. 18. He has been reached for 16 earned runs in 14 1/3 innings his last three starts.

Pinch-hitter Gerald Perry's two-run double chased Swift in the Cardinals' fourth-inning, putting them ahead, 6-5. Pinch-hitter Ozzie Smith had a sacrifice fly off Kevin Rogers and Todd Zeile capped the inning with an RBI single off Mike Jackson.

Todd Zeile got a walk off Dave Burba with one out in the ninth. Bernard Gilkey followed with a ground-rule double and Mark Whiten was walked intentionally to load the bases. Beck came on and

struck out pinch-hitter Erik Pappas before Pagnozzi singled to center on a 2-1 pitch.

Matt Williams hit Rob Murphy's first pitch of the eighth for his 30th home run, and third of the series, to make it 6-5.

Phillies 5, Reds 3: Philadelphia reached Tim Lincecum for four runs

#### NL ROUNDUP

and 10 hits in three-plus innings, then after Chris Sabo's two-run homer made it 4-3 in the sixth lead to win in Cincinnati.

Rockies 4, Pirates 1: Freddie Benavides, who entered the game as a pinch-runner, drove in three runs, two with a triple in the eighth, as Colorado swept visiting Pittsburgh.

*In earlier games, reported in some Monday editions:*

Astros 7, Expos 1: Luis Gonzalez homered, hit two doubles and drove in two runs while Mark Portugal pitched five-hit ball for eight innings as Houston ended visiting Montreal's nine-game winning streak.

Cubs 2, Mets 1: Pinch-hitter Glenallen Hill's two-run homer with one out in the bottom of the ninth gave Chicago its victory over visiting New York.

Mariners 4, Dodgers 3: Walt Weiss's sacrifice fly broke an eighth-inning tie as Florida, playing at home, rallied to beat Los Angeles.

## Hostetler, Shell and Raiders Win

*Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches*  
Jeff Hostetler bested Jim McMahon in a battle of prominent quarterbacks playing their first National Football League game with new teams. And Art Shell prevailed over Dennis Green in the first matchup of the only two black head coaches of the league's modern era.

Hostetler was at his best from start to finish. Among other things, he helped the Raiders dominate in time of possession, 39:35 to 30:25.

"It seemed like everything clicked," he said.  
Throwing almost everything short, he completed 15 straight

#### NFL ROUNDUP

passes at one stage, and he led all rushers in the game with 34 yards on eight carries.

Saints 33, Oilers 21: New Orleans, playing at home, turned fumble recoveries by Frank Warren and Toi Cook into 14 points early in the fourth quarter to open a 26-point lead against Houston.

Morten Andersen kicked four field goals to help the Saints cruise past the mistake-prone Oilers, who found themselves down to their third quarterback in the final period.

Both Warren Moon and Bucky Richardson were injured in the fourth quarter, neither seriously, and Houston finished the game with Cody Carlson behind center.

With New Orleans already holding a 19-7 lead early in the fourth quarter, linebacker Sam Mills hit Moon, and the resulting fumble was scooped up by Warren. He returned it 47 yards for a touchdown.

Minutes later, Moon again fumbled and Cook recovered. Two

plays later, Derek Brown scored on a 1-yard run.

Giants 26, Bears 20: Phil Simms threw a go-ahead, one-yard touchdown pass to Jarrod Bunch with 1:07 left, and Lawrence Taylor sealed New York's victory in Chicago with a fumble recovery in the final minute.

Simms directed an 80-yard drive, completing a 24-yard pass to Chris Calloway on third-and-18 and a 38-yarder to Mike Sherrard to set up the touchdown.

The scoring pass to Bunch was set up by a pass interference call in the end zone against cornerback Anthony Blaylock.

On Chicago's first play from scrimmage following the touchdown, Taylor, playing his first game since tearing his Achilles' tendon last year, stripped the ball from the Bears' quarterback, Jim Harbaugh, and recovered the fumble.

The game marked the Giants' coaching debut of Dan Reeves, head coach of the Denver Broncos for 14 years, and the Bears' coaching debut of Dave Wannstedt, former defensive coordinator of the Dallas Cowboys.

Chargers 18, Seahawks 12: John Carney broke his team record with six field goals in a victory over visiting Seattle.

Carney put San Diego ahead to stay with a 33-yarder with 3:21 left in the second quarter, and the

Chargers held on to win their first season opener since they defeated Miami on Sept. 7, 1986.

Rookie Rick Mirer completed 20 of 27 passes for 152 yards for Seattle, which has lost its season opening game four straight years.

The only touchdown of the game came 53 seconds into the contest when Joe Nash intercepted a pass by Stan Humphries and returned it 53 yards to put Seattle in front. After that, the only points the Seahawks could muster came on a 27-yard field goal by John Kasay in the second quarter and an intentional safety on the game's final play.

*In earlier games, reported in some Monday editions:*

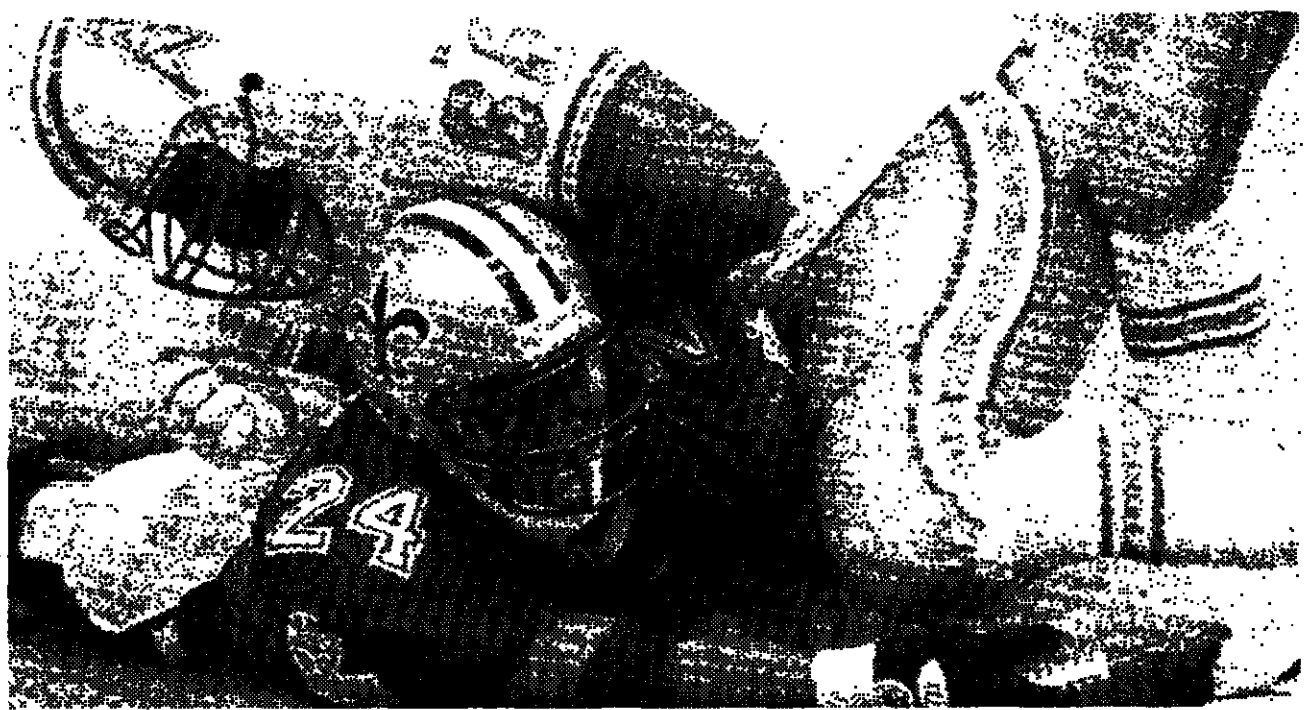
Dolphins 24, Colts 20: Dan Marino hit Greg Barty with a one-yard touchdown pass with 25 seconds left, his third scoring throw of the day, to rally Miami in Indianapolis.

The Dolphins drove 80 yards in 13 plays in the final 4:29 to erase a 20-17 deficit.

Marino hit newcomer Keith Byars with a 12-yard pass in the drive and hooked up with rookie Terry Kirby for 11 yards to keep the march going.

The Colts had taken the lead on Dean Biasucci's 33-yard field goal with a little over five minutes left in the game.

Carney put San Diego ahead to stay with a 33-yarder with 3:21 left in the second quarter, and the



Running back Derek Brown snuck a touchdown in under the Oilers' Tim Roberts as the Saints turned two fumbles into a 33-21 victory.

7 in the first period and the second giving the Dolphins a 17-10 advantage in the third period. Three touchdown passes give Marino 294 in his career.

Eagles 23, Cardinals 17: Heath Sherman and Randall Cunningham ran for first-half touchdowns as Philadelphia extended its home winning streak to 10 games.

Cunningham carried 10 times for

49 yards against Phoenix and went over the 4,000-yard mark in career rushing, the first quarterback ever to do so. He also completed 18 of 29 passes for 192 yards.

Browns 17, Bengals 14: Bernie Kosar threw for 167 yards and a touchdown and the Cleveland defense held visiting Cincinnati to 55 rushing yards.

Kosar completed 18 of 30 passes.

9 going to running back Eric Metcal for 60 yards. Free-agent acquisition Mark Carrier grabbed three passes for a team-high 79 yards.

Lions 30, Falcons 13: Rodney Peete threw for 178 yards and one touchdown, and Jason Hanson kicked three field goals against Atlanta as Detroit won at home.

The Lions jumped to a 14-0 lead

in the first quarter on a 26-yard touchdown run by Barry Sanders and a 35-yard interception return for a touchdown by George Jamison.

Peete was 11 for 20 with no interceptions, while Atlanta's quarterback, Chris Miller, was 26 of 50 for 260 yards with two interceptions.

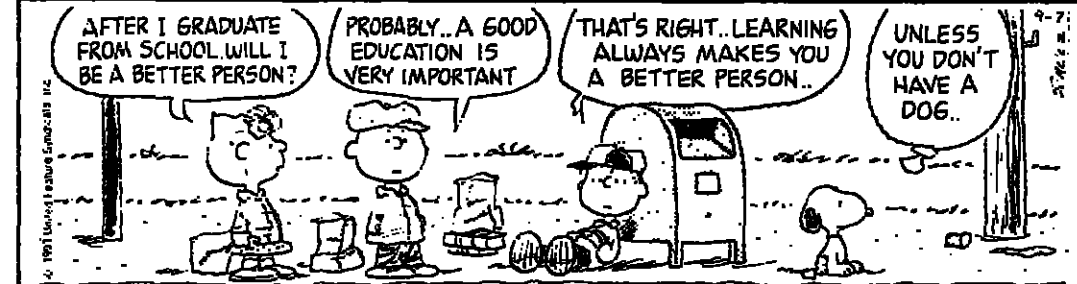
(AP, UPI)

#### DENNIS THE MENACE



SO, THAT BUS IS NEW? I COULD HARDLY HEAR MYSELF YELLING!

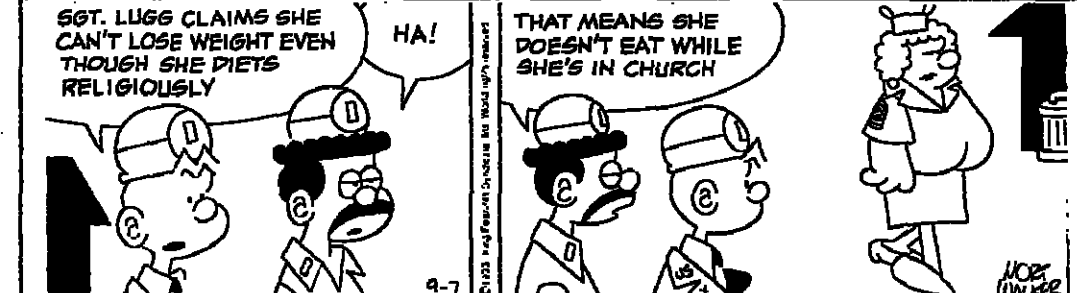
#### PEANUTS



#### BLONDIE



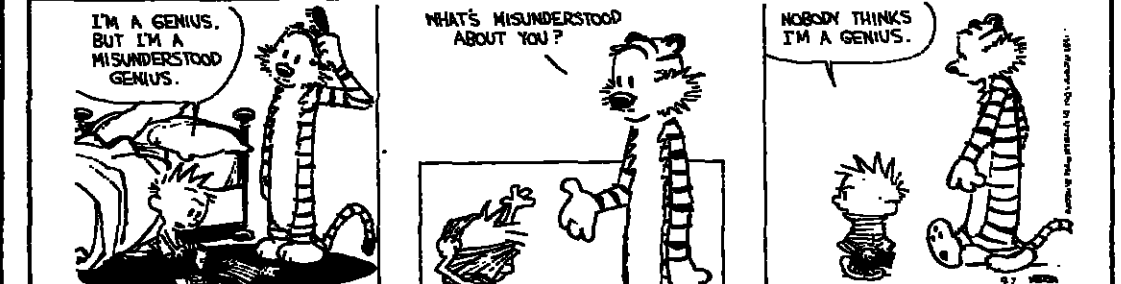
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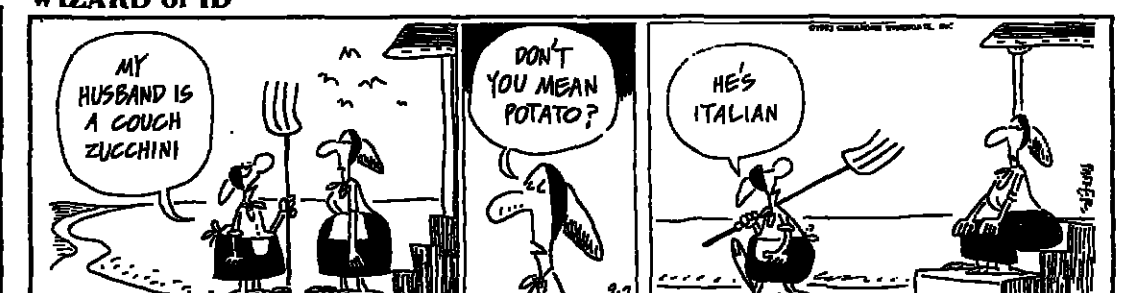
#### DOONESBURY



#### CALVIN AND HOBBES



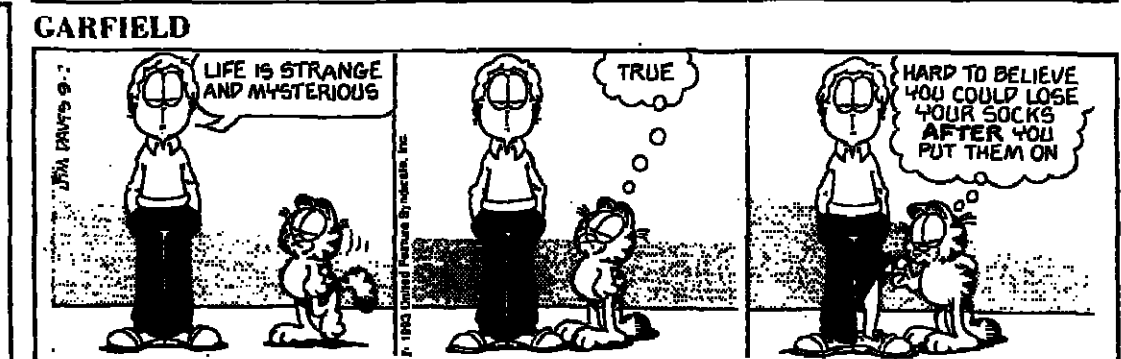
#### WIZARD of ID



#### REX MORGAN



#### GARFIELD



**JUMBLE** THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME  
By Helen Arnold

LYDOM  
DATUL  
SPOLGE  
RICHEP

Print answer here: A

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مكتبة من الأصل



SPORTS SOCCER

A Tangled Trail in Bribe Case A Bold Move, Maybe Necessary, but Dangerous for the Sport

A Tangled Trail in Bribe Case

Agence France-Press

PARIS — The bribery case that has shaken French soccer started at the Novotel in Valenciennes, where the local team was staying May 19 on the eve of a crucial league match against Marseille.

Defeat the next day would condemn Valenciennes to the second division. Victory for Marseille would virtually ensure a record fifth consecutive league title and set it up for the European Champions' Cup final against AC Milan six days later.

According to the Valenciennes players sharing the room — Jacques Glassmann, Jorge Buruchaga and Christophe Robert — all three heard the phone ring.

Robert, who answered, says it was Marseille defender Jean-Jacques Eydelie who was calling. Robert passed the phone to Glassmann, who also says he spoke with Eydelie. Eydelie then allegedly put his team's general manager, Jean-Pierre Bernes, on the line.

Glassmann says Bernes offered him 200,000 francs (about \$34,550) to take it easy against Marseille.

The next two events got the affair properly started: Glassmann's almost immediate announcement that a bribe had been offered and, a month later, Robert's admission that he had received 250,000 francs as a bribe.

Police dug up 242,000 francs in the back yard of Robert's aunt. Robert's wife, Marie-Christine, said she had picked up the money from Eydelie, an old family friend who immediately denied the charge.

The Roberts were the first to be formally put under judicial investigation, a step that can lead arrest, and charged with corruption. They were joined by Eydelie and Buruchaga and, on July 6, Bernes, too, was charged.

Then Valenciennes' former coach, Boro Primorac, accused the Marseille team's owner, Bernard Tapie, of offering inducements to take the blame for the affair during a meeting at Tapie's headquarters in Paris.

Tapie denies having met Primorac, and has an alibi in Jacques Mellick, a Socialist deputy for the northern town of Bethune, who says that he had a meeting with Tapie on the afternoon in question.

But doubt has been cast on Mellick's alibi. Next to enter the case was Eydelie's wife, Christine. Unknown to her husband, she told police her involvement in the bribery attempt, but said she was only acting under Bernes's orders.

July 9 brought together the main protagonists in the drama — Glassmann, Buruchaga and Robert — and the investigating magistrate, Bernard Befly.

Eydelie, still ignorant of his wife's testimony, made a spirited defense. But days later, he said that his wife's version of events was the true one and he was released from detention.

On July 21 there was another confrontation, this one including Bernes. Tapie's right-hand man stuck to his guns and, in the absence of any material evidence against him, was released the following day.

Since the legal case has been slowed by summer vacations, although Mellick, Primorac, Buruchaga and Tapie have all made claims and counter-claims.

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — International soccer is today on a precipice. By barring Olympique Marseille from defending its European Championship, the authorities have made either a magnificent defense of the morals of sport, or have been so preemptive of French justice that they could invite the wrath of Bernard Tapie. And this, if it comes, could make the governing of soccer virtually untenable.

What worries me is this: The French police and judiciary have been trying to nail Marseille on the corruption charges for three months, and obviously, with no concrete dates on the agenda, have so far no conclusive proof.

From that, surely, Tapie has the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty.

BAN: Marseille Soccer Champs Out

Continued from Page 1

tions were part of a plot by Tapie's political and sports enemies to discredit him.

Although he has gone on the offensive now, Mr. Tapie had said in recent interviews that he would quit soccer and place the club in liquidation if Marseille were thrown out of the European Cup.

The UEFA executive committee members gathered at a hotel near the Zurich airport shortly after Jojo Havelange, president of the international governing body FIFA, met privately with the president of the French Football Federation, Jean Fourmet-Fayard.

Havelange has demanded that the case be cleared up quickly and has threatened to suspend the French national team from international competition, including the World Cup, if it is not.

The French federation, which last year won the bidding to be host of the 1998 World Cup finals, had promised to do so. But the league's disciplinary committee, after a nine-hour meeting Saturday, said it could not act because it did not have enough evidence.

A FIFA spokesman said no comment would be issued on the latest developments.

"We cannot leave this for months without any action," said UEFA's president, Lennart Johansson of Sweden. "We think it's obvious what happened, therefore we took a decision."

Johansson said that an initial UEFA statement that the decision was provisional was incorrect and that the decision was final.

Fourmet-Fayard said afterward he was "very shattered."

He pleaded France's case before his UEFA executive committee colleagues, then withdrew while they deliberated. Holding back tears, he said, "We defended the French case to the utmost."

UEFA gave the French soccer federation until Wednesday to name Marseille's replacement in the Champions' Cup. Marseille was to have opened its defense of the title on Sept. 15, against the Greek champion, AEK Athens.

But the French league president, Noel Le Graet, said before the meeting that Marseille would not be replaced if barred. Paris-St-Germain, runner-up to Marseille in the league standings, said afterward it would refuse to take over.

"PSG does not wish to participate in the competition for which it did not qualify," a team statement said. Bordesaux, which finished fourth, also said it would refuse to replace Marseille. Monaco, which finished third, had yet to indicate whether it would if asked.

For all the accusations and rank suppositions, the magistrates are not yet sufficiently satisfied to test Marseille with the law of the land.

And with Tapie screaming that the European ban will cost his club between \$65 million and \$75 million, we may believe his threat that Marseille will first liquidate and then explode.

More than that, Tapie publicly has received the support of France's president, Francois Mitterrand, and casts aspersions on the way police investigators have elicited the confessions from players.

Tapie, arrogant and defiant as ever, tells us this is a both a dastardly Parisian act to discredit Provence, and a plot by rightists to harm the socialists and to ruin Tapie financially.

UEFA, making a judgment where neither the French league or the French federation dare, has opened itself up to retribution. I hope it never comes. I hope that the rulers of the world's most popular game are proven right in their brave interception.

UEFA, and it's big brother, FIFA, certainly needed to do something. The Marseille affair was beginning to reek wherever football is played and loved.

To wait for the interminable course of legal justice to arrive only compounds the rumor, the belief, that clubs putting profit motive beyond sporting ethics can get away with it. But this summer, the soccer authorities in Poland gave a strong lead by acting unilaterally on alleged corruption in their league.

Without waiting for police or courts, the Polish soccer federation took the 1993 title away from Legia Warsaw, and took points away from runner-up LKS Lodz after suspicious results. The clubs were each fined \$28,700 and none of their players has been selected for the crucial World Cup qualifying match against England on Wednesday.

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AND EVEN AS UEFA decided what it had to do about Marseille, the Georgian champion, Dynamo Tbilisi, was instituting a complaint procedure against its banishment from the Champions' Cup after it allegedly attempted to bribe the referee for the match against Linfield of Ireland by offering him \$5,000.

Someone, somewhere, has to be guilty. But a governing body, like soccer's UEFA, is not a legally empowered court of law, and the ramifications of attempting to stop the rot that pervades all of life could have ruinous aftermaths.

But have we no compassion? For Tapie, for Marseille, I can think of little. The club has aroused suspicion for far too long, and its president proved to Tapie committed suicide rather than tell all about his mismanagement. He left the club bankrupt; Tapie sought personal and political justification in rescuing it. If he achieved that illegally, then whatever is coming will be his just deserts.

However, there is great sympathy for the French. As we have observed before, it was Gabriel Hanot who launched the Champions' Cup 37 years ago.

In all that time, France waited and hoped for the cup to be brought home.

Finally, when it did so, l'Equipe, the sports newspaper of which Hanot was football editor, raised the headline:

"LE JOUR DE GLOIRE"

To the journalists who succeeded Hanot, and whom I personally know to share the vision and the honor he brought to football, commemorations. But if this brave UEFA act is ever substantiated in law, then far more important than feelings for our fellow men in Marseille — and remember, there are tens of thousands of innocent soccer supporters there — the upholding of the original purpose and meaning of the sport will emerge the winner.

Rob Hughes is on the staff of The Times.

Chang Advances With Sampras To Quarterfinals

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — Pete Sampras and Michael Chang on Monday set up a U.S. Open quarterfinal rematch of a rivalry that dates back to childhood.

Sampras, the Wimbledon champion and No. 2 seed here, beat Thomas Enqvist 6-4, 6-4, 7-6 (7-4), after Chang, seeded No. 7, defeated Wayne Ferreira 6-4, 6-2, 6-4.

Both Sampras and Chang grew up in California, and Chang recalled a three-set match against Sampras when they were about 7 years old.

Labor Day at Flushing Meadow saw big crowds — including the Hollywood couple Tom Cruise and Nicole Kidman — watching most of the favorites win quickly.

Arantxa Sanchez Vicario, the No. 2 seeded women's player, defeated 14th-seeded Nathalie Tauziat of France 6-4, 6-3. Sanchez will play in the quarterfinals against Natalia Zvereva, who ended the run of lucky loser Maria Jose Galdano, 6-0, 6-2.

Alexander Volkov, the 14th-seeded men's player, beat Chuck Adams, 6-2, 7-6 (7-2), 6-1.

Sampras overpowered Enqvist, serving 19 aces and converting almost 90 percent of his first serves into points.

Enqvist, who upset Andre Agassi in the first round, managed only four break points and converted only one, when Sampras was serving for the match.

Chang shook off an early challenge and rolled past Ferreira. A year ago, Chang beat Ferreira in a five-set quarterfinal match.

Ferreira, who beat ninth-seeded Petr Korda in the first round, had a break point for a 5-6 lead in the first set, when a backhand volley skipped off the net cord and zoomed past a charging Chang. But the 1989 French Open champion saved that point, held serve for 5-4, then broke Ferreira for the first set and breezed from there.

"I was very fortunate in the first couple of sets because Wayne had quite a few break points and wasn't able to convert any of them," Chang said. "I think the third set, he was getting a little tired mentally."

Ferreira, from South Africa, failed to convert his first nine break points, finally turning one in the eighth game of the third set on a crosscourt forehand winner. He thrust his hands into the air in triumph, then held serve before Chang closed the match with an unplayable drop shot.

Many players have criticized the Open this year, complaining about poor court conditions, bad food and noise. But Sanchez said she loved New York.

"Playing on center court here is very special," she said. "I feel like the people like me and I feel very comfortable, and of course I like this tournament."

While Chang, Sampras, Volkov and Sanchez cruised into the quarterfinals, luck finally ran out for Galdano of Argentina.

A loser in qualifying but lucky enough to make the field when Achilles tendon at a track meet Friday in Brussels.

However, there is great sympathy for the French. As we have observed before, it was Gabriel Hanot who launched the Champions' Cup 37 years ago.

In all that time, France waited and hoped for the cup to be brought home.

Finally, when it did so, l'Equipe, the sports newspaper of which Hanot was football editor, raised the headline:

"LE JOUR DE GLOIRE"

To the journalists who succeeded Hanot, and whom I personally know to share the vision and the honor he brought to football, commemorations. But if this brave UEFA act is ever substantiated in law, then far more important than feelings for our fellow men in Marseille — and remember, there are tens of thousands of innocent soccer supporters there — the upholding of the original purpose and meaning of the sport will emerge the winner.

Rob Hughes is on the staff of The Times.



Jean-Louis Leveaux, the vice president of the Olympique Marseille club: "Deeply shocked."

Colombia Gains Berth in '94 World Cup

Compiled by Our Staff from Dispatches

Colombia, with a 5-0 rout of Argentina in Buenos Aires, has landed a place in the 1994 World Cup. Colombia needed only a draw to advance to next summer's championship in the United States. What it got was much more.

With Freddy Rincon and Faustino Asprilla each scoring two goals and Rene Valencia adding another, Colombia handed Argentina one of its most humiliating defeats at home.

The ensuing wild celebrations had 20 people dead and 100 injured in brawls, car crashes and shoot-

ings across Colombia, police said Monday.

The field for the 24-nation World Cup is now one-quarter complete, with the United States (host), Germany (defending champion), Mexico, Russia, Greece and Colombia.

Argentina, a two-time world champion, can still qualify for the World Cup by winning a two-leg series with Australia.

In other qualifying matches Sunday, Brazil moved closer to a berth with a 4-0 victory over Venezuela; Uruguay eliminated Ecuador, 1-0,

and Paraguay's chances ended in a 2-2 draw with Peru.

Brazil has 10 points and is tied with Bolivia atop the South American Group B, whose top two teams advance to the World Cup. Bolivia has two matches left and Brazil one. Uruguay, with 8 points, has two matches left — at home against Bolivia and at Brazil.

Derby County of the English First Division agreed to a \$300,000 transfer fee with the Premier League club Sheffield Wednesday for American international John Harkes.

SCOREBOARD

Major League Standings

AMERICAN LEAGUE

Table with columns for team, wins, losses, and games behind. Includes teams like New York Yankees, Toronto Blue Jays, Detroit Tigers, Boston Red Sox, Cleveland Indians, Chicago White Sox, Kansas City Royals, Texas Rangers, California Angels, Minnesota Twins, Oakland Athletics.

NATIONAL LEAGUE

Table with columns for team, wins, losses, and games behind. Includes teams like Philadelphia Phillies, Montreal Expos, St. Louis Cardinals, Chicago Cubs, Pittsburgh Pirates, Florida Marlins, New York Mets, San Francisco Giants, Atlanta Braves, Houston Astros, Los Angeles Dodgers, Cincinnati Reds, Colorado Rockies, San Diego Padres.

Sunday's Line Scores

Table listing game results for American League and National League, including scores and key players.

CRICKET

SECOND TEST

South Africa vs. West Africa

Table with columns for team, runs, wickets, and overs. Includes South Africa and West Africa.

NFL Standings

AMERICAN CONFERENCE

Table with columns for team, wins, losses, and points for loss. Includes teams like Buffalo Bills, Cleveland Browns, Houston Oilers, New England Patriots, New York Jets, Pittsburgh Steelers, Tampa Bay Buccaneers, Washington Redskins, Baltimore Colts, Cincinnati Bengals, Denver Broncos, Kansas City Chiefs, Los Angeles Raiders, Miami Dolphins, New Orleans Saints, Philadelphia Eagles, San Francisco 49ers, Seattle Seahawks, Tampa Bay Buccaneers, Washington Redskins, Baltimore Colts, Cincinnati Bengals, Denver Broncos, Kansas City Chiefs, Los Angeles Raiders, Miami Dolphins, New Orleans Saints, Philadelphia Eagles, San Francisco 49ers, Seattle Seahawks.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Table with columns for team, wins, losses, and points for loss. Includes teams like Dallas Cowboys, Detroit Lions, Green Bay Packers, Kansas City Chiefs, LA Raiders, San Diego Chargers, Seattle Seahawks, Tampa Bay Buccaneers, Washington Redskins, Baltimore Colts, Cincinnati Bengals, Denver Broncos, Kansas City Chiefs, Los Angeles Raiders, Miami Dolphins, New Orleans Saints, Philadelphia Eagles, San Francisco 49ers, Seattle Seahawks.

Canadian League

Table with columns for team, wins, losses, and points for loss. Includes teams like Winnipeg Jets, Hamilton Tiger-Cats, Ottawa Senators, Toronto Maple Leafs.

SOCCER

ITALIAN FIRST DIVISION

Table with columns for team, wins, losses, and points for loss. Includes teams like Fiorentina, Lazio, Roma, Torino, Juventus, Inter Milan, AC Milan, Fiorentina, Lazio, Roma, Torino, Juventus, Inter Milan, AC Milan.

SPANISH FIRST DIVISION

Table with columns for team, wins, losses, and points for loss. Includes teams like Real Madrid, Athletic Bilbao, Deportivo La Coruna, Real Betis, Real Sociedad, Real Valladolid, Real Zaragoza, Real Madrid, Athletic Bilbao, Deportivo La Coruna, Real Betis, Real Sociedad, Real Valladolid, Real Zaragoza.

WORLD CUP QUALIFIERS

Table with columns for team, wins, losses, and points for loss. Includes teams like Argentina, Colombia, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela, Ecuador.

SIDELINES

Mayfair Wins in U.S. Golf Playoff

FRANKLIN, Wisconsin (AP) — Billy Mayfair, who previously lost two PGA playoffs, made a 20-foot chip shot to birdie the fourth hole of a playoff Sunday with Mark Calcavecchia and Ted Schulz to win the Greater Milwaukee Open. Mayfair and Calcavecchia parred three playoff holes before Calcavecchia missed a five-foot putt for birdie to share second place with Schulz, who was out of the playoff after bogeying the first hole.

For the Record

Wayne Rainey of the United States, the world motorcycle champion, is paralyzed from the waist down as a result of a crash during the Italian Grand Prix, a doctor said Monday.

Escorts & Guides

Table listing travel agencies and services, including BELGRAVIA, ORCHIDS, BELLE EPOCH, MERCEDES.

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED

(Continued From Page 12)

Table listing international classified services, including ESCORTS & GUIDES, INTERNATIONAL ESCORTS, LONDON BRAZILIAN Escort.

ESCORTS & GUIDES

Table listing escort and guide services, including BELGRAVIA, ORCHIDS, BELLE EPOCH, MERCEDES.

ESCORTS & GUIDES

Table listing escort and guide services, including JAPANESE, CHINESE, THAI, GENTLEMEN'S SERVICE.

Large advertisement for 'KODAN ALAMI' featuring a stylized logo and contact information.



ART BUCHWALD

A Year (50 Issues) Free

WASHINGTON — You may have noticed that more and more subscription cards are falling out of magazines on the floor lately. All you have to do is open your favorite publication and your living room is instantly littered with pieces of paper, begging you to subscribe for 16 weeks for 12 cents, and you don't have to pay until 1995. These cards are the second highest cause of pollution in the United States — after metal flip tops from beer cans.



Buchwald

The most tragic case is the town of Dunno, Colorado, where it was recently discovered that an entire housing development had been constructed over a landfill of old subscription cards from leading magazines in the United States.

Homeowners are furious over the deception but legally have no recourse. Their lawyers tell them that they should have tested for subscription cards in the soil before they bought their houses.

But people around the Eldorado golf course development feel cheated.

Fred Slug said, "How can anyone sell a man a house when he knows that the land beneath it is filled with subscription offers?"

Box Office History Made in Hollywood

LOS ANGELES — A set of cinematic blockbusters has made this the biggest summer in Hollywood history, weekend estimates show. "Jurassic Park," "The Firm" and "The Fugitive" have helped box offices sell more than \$2 billion in tickets from the end of May to September. Exhibitor Relations Co. Inc. estimates.

The previous record was \$1.99 billion in 1989. By last Friday, sales totaled \$2.09 billion, analysts said. The season's gross may top \$2.2 billion.

pleading with readers to buy People magazine? I said, "Didn't you have any inkling of what various publications were doing?"

"Well, I saw a Vanity Fair truck pull up across the street when I first moved here, but I thought that it was dumping unsold magazines. I didn't know it was getting rid of all the subscription cards. Another time I was driving home at midnight and a Time magazine bulldozer was pushing millions of cards into a hole that later became Jeff Friedman's backyard. I thought it was funny at the time."

I decided to go over to Jeff Friedman's house. I asked him, "Do you get any funny sensations sitting on millions of subscriber offers?" "It's so bad that we can't sleep at night. What worries us the most is that they're offering 78 percent off for new subscribers. We have no idea what kind of pollution these offers contain."

Mrs. Friedman said, "I hate the ones that say 'postage paid' on them. A man came in with a Geiger counter the other day, and every time he passed over a 'postage paid' card he lit up like a Christmas tree."

"Have you called the magazines and asked them to remove the subscription cards from the landfill?"

"They claim that there's no way of doing it. They are buried all over the development. I telephoned Newsweek to complain about their cards and they sent out a reporter. All he did was write a story on us called 'America's Subscription Card Junkyard.'"

So far the U.S. government refuses to get involved in the mess, maintaining that the subscription-card garbage is a First Amendment issue.

An administration spokesman said, "It's hard to separate what is written in magazines from their subscription appeals. We are well aware that at some point they will have to be treated like nuclear waste. But at the moment we have no intention of forcing the publishers to stop inserting them in their periodicals. Besides, the magazine executives claim that every time a card floats down to the floor, someone gets exercise picking it up."

The War Over Woodstock, 25 Years Later

By David Blum  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Three American men in their late 40s have to get up every morning and consider this fact as they shave: They created Woodstock. This, as it turns out, is a lot to consider, and has probably resulted in a few ticks.

Now, here's what those three men think of next, after they get done thinking about what they did for a few rainy days in August 1969, which, in their minds, is that they changed the world. They think about how much fun it's going to be to do it again next summer, on the 25th anniversary.

"This time we're going to do it right," said Michael Lang, still the curly-haired mop-top head-shop owner who dreamed up Woodstock and became an instant music mogul. With John Roberts and Joel Rosenman, his former partners, Lang has begun the planning of Woodstock 1994. This one will likely take place at Winston Farm in Saugerties, near the town of Woodstock itself — and some 60 miles (100 kilometers) northeast of Max Yasgur's farm in Bethel, the original site.

"Actually," Lang explained, "this is where the first one was going to be." But like the summer of 1969, Lang and his partners must realize their dream against the backdrop of a war that, like Vietnam, is a muddled battle with few heroes.

This time it is The War of Woodstock. On the other side of the battlefield is the National Multiple Sclerosis Society. Hoping to raise millions of charity dollars, it also plans an anniversary concert for that August weekend next year. The executive producer, Robert Gersch, described an event for 40,000 people that will offer creature comforts to ticket-holders to his concert — such as 1,000 seats at \$5,000 apiece, with chairs, waiters and luxury hotel accommodations.

In the shadows of the battle is the legacy of Woodstock itself — half-a-million people in the right place at the right time, making history. Naked and muddy and stoned, they poured through gates that were only a field too small to hold them. In front of them on a massive makeshift stage, a succession of classic '60s groups like The Who, Ten Years After and The Band, and legendary soloists like Joan Baez, Jimi Hendrix and Janis Joplin rocked the Catskill mountains, and beyond them a culture on the edge of apocalypse.

Efforts to recapture the spirit of that historic moment have failed — except perhaps in the town of Woodstock, which has cast itself as a kind of '60s theme park. It's easier to buy beads in Woodstock than a roast-beef sandwich and real-life hippies congregate in the town square like it's a beach. Tourists flock to Woodstock every August for the anniversary; many of them



Dress rehearsal for a generation: Intent young members of the crowd at Woodstock, August 1969. Can it be done again?

have fun pretending to be wasted, checking out local bands or muttering to themselves about "getting back to the garden."

Lang's version of a new, improved Woodstock will offer certain amenities unavailable to the half-million people who made it the last time. At the Woodstock of his dreams, a 1,000-person private security force will control a crowd of 250,000, each of whom will have bought a \$95 ticket through a lottery six weeks ahead of time. From eight different parking lots near the New York State Thruway, 350 shuttle buses will carry ticket-holders to the site. And this Woodstock will last only two days. In 1994, two days of peace, love and music, the producers believe, is enough.

"The time is right," Lang said. Lang and his partners declare that their concert will be the only true Woodstock anniversary concert because they own exclusive rights to the word. "There will be one and only one Woodstock festival next year," Lang said flatly. "And it will be ours."

Gersch conceded the name, but will offer ticket-buyers his own unique feature:

The charity concert will be held at the original site of Woodstock — Max Yasgur's farm in Bethel, now owned by June Gelsch, who has leased it to the charity for next summer's event.

"If you own the name Woodstock, you can have Woodstock II in the Astrodome on Easter Sunday," Gersch said evenly when asked to compare the two events. "But I think, on the anniversary of Woodstock, people will want to come back to where the first festival really happened." Gersch has rather casually sidestepped the copyright issue by calling his concert "The Festival at Max Yasgur's Farm," banking on the lure of the land — the fields of Sullivan County where Woodstock first took place.

"Woodstock was more a state of mind than a piece of land," Lang retorted. "Anyway, 99 out of 100 people think Woodstock was in Woodstock." Woodstock had become a cliché almost before it was over. ABC News once went searching for the babies born at Woodstock, to no avail. And the Woodstock Times — the local weekly — has covered

anniversary news on the front page the way The New York Times covers Bosnia. In any case, to locals these rituals have become a summer staple — like "Jaws" sequels.

To some, the hoopla has never really stopped. On the 20th anniversary in 1989, Michael Lang and his partners tried to mount a concert at the Berlin Wall, but Warner Bros. — which owned a large chunk of rights after making the Oscar-winning 1970 movie and two albums from the original concert — blocked it. At that time, Lang expressed a slightly different attitude about anniversary concerts.

"Really," Lang explained to a Rolling Stone reporter in 1989, "we weren't interested in doing a big show in update New York. I lived through one of those already. It was enough."

Lang has since changed his mind. For Woodstock Ventures — the company formed by Lang and his partners in early 1969 to produce the first festival — this marks their first chance to recoup the financial losses of Woodstock.

PEOPLE

Bush's Grandson Helps Him Out With Nintendo

OK, so what did those folks in Atlanta get for their \$100,000? George Bush, who ran the Gulf War from the White House electronic command room, told them he was learning to play Nintendo. His master is his 8-year-old grandson, and in the gallery is another grandson, this one 4 months old. "Such lung power," he told 75,000 video game distributors in a speech for which he was paid \$100,000. "I'm convinced he will be an American senator."

Italian actress Giulietta Masina, 72, the wife of Federico Fellini, has been hospitalized in Rome for nervous depression brought on by her husband's recent stroke.

The composer Michel Legrand was awarded the prize for best French composer to have reached fame in the United States during the 19th festival of American movies in Deauville, France.

Jerry Lewis opened his 28th annual telethon against muscular dystrophy in Las Vegas with a promise: "We are going to beat this." Lewis, who is under fire from activists for the handicapped who feel that his show is demeaning, hopes to surpass last year's record total of \$45.8 million. Helping out the 67-year-old comedian were Jay Leno, Lynn Redgrave, Ray Charles, Willie Nelson and Carol Burnett.

The Big Oops: In London to promote "The Fugitive," Harrison Ford buried a time capsule outside a theater and then started to talk instead about the 1985 hit "Witness." The crowd shouted "cut! cut!"

Rocky Mountain Low: The Windstar Foundation, an environmental group that singer John Denver founded 17 years ago, is suffering serious money trouble as the American recession bites deeper. Windstar was rescued in 1981 when the National Wildlife Federation assumed about \$850,000 in debts.

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED  
Appears on Pages 3 & 12

WEATHER

Weather forecast section including maps of Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, with temperature and precipitation data for various regions.

CROSSWORD

Crossword puzzle section with clues for Across and Down words, and a solution to a puzzle from Sept. 6.

"I wonder if the little guy had fun today?"



Sharing the day's events with loved ones back in the States has never been easier. Whenever you're away, simply dial the AT&T access number of the country you're calling from and an English-speaking AT&T Operator or voice prompt will put you through in seconds. You can bill the call to your AT&T Card, U.S. local calling card, or call collect. You'll get economical AT&T rates and keep hotel surcharges to a minimum. It's all part of The 7 Plan, our continuing commitment to be there for you. Even when you're on the other side of the planet. So surprise someone back home with a call. Who knows? Perhaps they'll have a little surprise for you.

AT&T Access Numbers  
The fast way to a familiar voice

Table listing international access numbers for various countries, including ANDORRA, ARMENIA, AUSTRIA, and others.



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